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EDITED BY  
U. N. GHOSHAL. PH.D.

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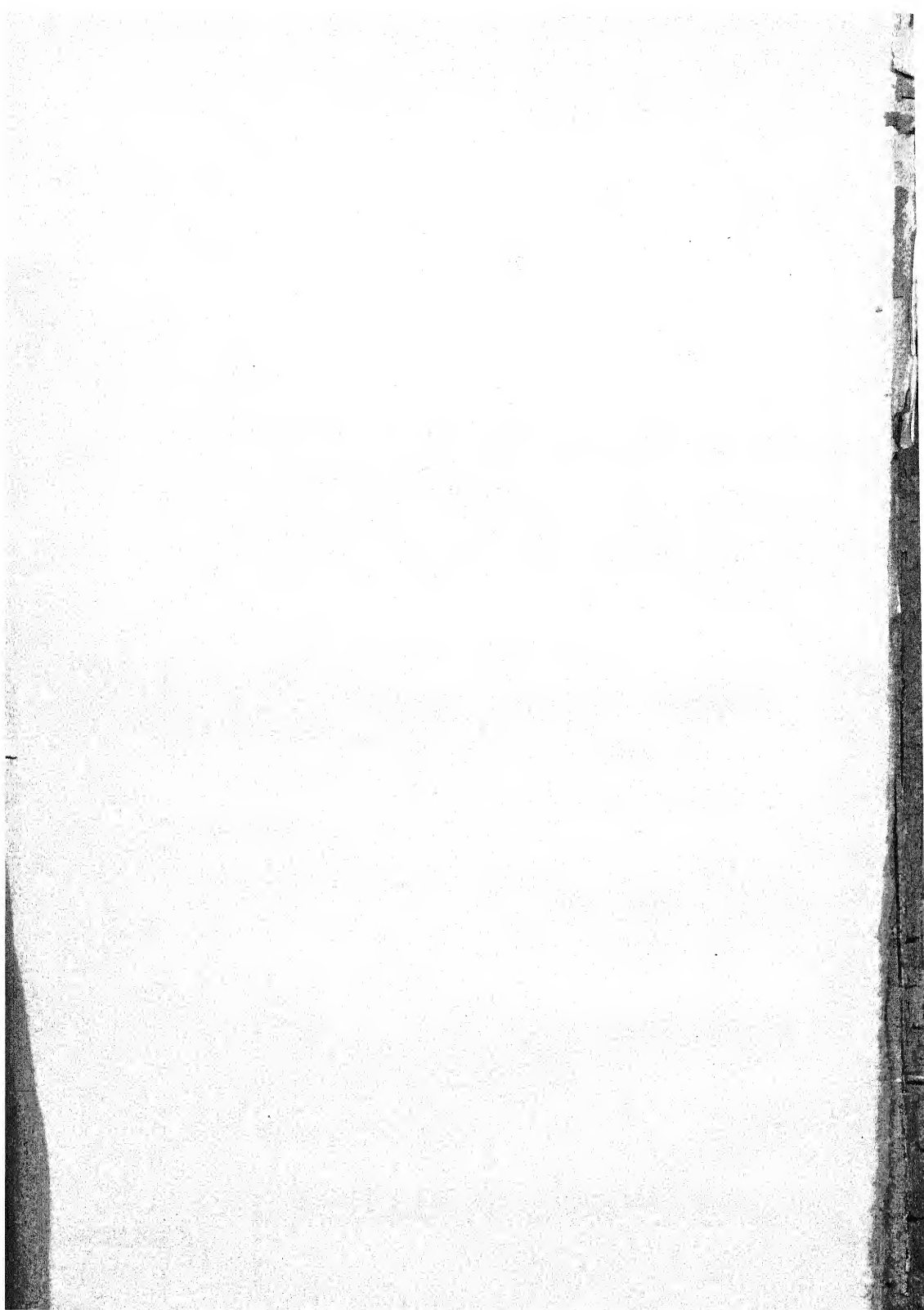
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## Foreword

To know my country in truth  
one has to travel to that age  
when she realised her soul, and  
thus transcended her physical boundaries;  
when she revealed her being in a radiant  
magnanimity which illumined the Eastern  
horizon making her recognized as their own  
by those in alien shores who were awestruck into  
a great surprise of life; and not now when she  
has withdrawn herself within a narrow barrier  
of obscurity, into a miserly pride of exclusiveness,  
into a poverty of mind that dumbly revolves round  
itself in an unmeaning repetition of a past that  
has lost its light and has no message to the  
pilgrims of the future.

Rabindranath Tagore



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2. To arrange for publication of the results of researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world.
3. To create an interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students in the schools, colleges, and Universities of India by instituting a systematic study of those subjects and to take proper steps to stimulate the same.
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Twelve Years of the Wandering  
Life of Buddha

BY DR. P. C. BAGCHI

A short Buddhist text entitled *She eul yeu k'ing* 十二遊經 "Sūtra on the twelve years of the wandering life of Buddha" is preserved in a Chinese translation of the end of the 4th century A.D. The importance of the text cannot be over-estimated in view of the fact that certain portions of it have been the object of a number of studies by eminent scholars (Cf. S. Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, *JA.*, 1897, I, 24; N. Péri, *Les Femmes de Śākyamuni*, *BEFEO.*, XVIII, II, 20-31; S. Lévi, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa* *JA.*, 1918, 83 (tirage); P. Pelliot, *La théorie des quatre fils du Ciel*, *T'oung Pao*, XXII, 97ff.; S. Lévi, *Devaputra*, *JA.*, 1934, 1-21). I have therefore thought it fit to take up a study of the whole text in all its aspects.

The *She eul yeu k'ing* was translated into Chinese at least three times. The oldest translation was due to a Buddhist scholar named Kālaruci who had gone to China either from India or from the Indian colonies in the Far East. The translation was made at Canton either in 266 or 288 A.D. The ancient Chinese catalogues say that Kālaruci's translation was in existence till the sixth century, but it was subse-

quently lost. A second translation of the text was made at Nanking in 392 A.D. by Kālodaka who is mentioned in the Chinese sources simply as a Buddhist monk of foreign origin. It is not clear whether he was an Indian or an Indianised foreigner. Kālodaka's translation still exists. A third translation was made by Guṇabhadra who went to China in 435 A.D. and died there in 468 A.D. His translation therefore was made sometime between 435 and 468. Guṇabhadra's translation was subsequently lost (Cf. Pelliot, *Ibid.*, pp. 97ff.; Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, I, pp. 115, 335, 386). Nanjio in his *Catalogue*, No. 1374, gives a Sanskrit rendering of the name of the text as *Dvādaśa-(varṣa)-viharaṇa-sūtra* which seems to be quite justified. But his English translation of the name as "Sūtra of twelve (years) going for pleasure" is not quite correct. It will be seen from our translation of the text that it deals with the preaching of Buddha during the first twelve years of his religious career after his attainment of Bodhi. I have therefore freely translated the name of the text as "Twelve years of the wandering life of Buddha" although literally it should be *Sūtra of the twelve wanderings*.

Although the translations of Kālaruci and Guṇabhadra are now lost, a fragment of one of them has been found in a compilation of 516 A.D. entitled *King liu yi siang* made by a Chinese Buddhist scholar named Pao-ch'ang. The fragment which is not very extensive contains a description of the different kingdoms in India. Kālodaka's translation, as we shall see later on, ends abruptly with an incomplete description of Jambudvīpa. The passage contained in the *King liu yi siang* forms a sort of *suite* of the present text. That is why Prof. Lévi (*JA.*, 1918, p. 159) expressed the opinion that the extract was really the last portion of Kālodaka's translation which was lost but was fortunately preserved in the present quotation. Prof. Pelliot however pointed out (*ibid.*, p. 104) that Pao-ch'ang, the compiler of the *King liu yi siang*, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century and was responsible for the quotation, was also

acquainted with Kālaruci's translation. It is not therefore impossible that the extract is from the earlier translation and not from Kālodaka's translation.

Pelliot's suggestion seems to be confirmed by another quotation from the *She eul yeu king* in a work of Seng-yeu who also lived in the beginning of the sixth century and was thus a contemporary of Pao-ch'ang. Seng-yeu's work is the *She-kia p'u* or "A history of the Śākyas" which is a very extensive work. In the second section of Chap. I of his work Seng-yeu gives a long quotation from the *She eul yeu king* in regard to the origin of the Śākyas. It corresponds to the first part of Kālodaka's text which we have translated (see *infra*—from the commencement up to... "Śuddhodana. He was father of the Bodhisattva"). But there is considerable difference between Kālodaka's text and the quotation which shows that Seng-yeu like Pao-ch'ang had before him the earlier translation.

In regard to the *She eul yeu king*, a Chinese Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, the *Chong king mu lu*, compiled in 594 A.D., says that it is composed of extracts from more extensive works. It is quite possible that the work was such a compilation but the sources on which it drew upon cannot be clearly traced. Some of the informations contained in it seem to be quite original and not found in other texts. The ancient Chinese authorities like Seng-yeu, Pao-ch'ang and Tao-siuan, while speaking of the origin of the Śākyas, consider the *She eul yeu king* as authoritative as the Āgamas and the Vinayas and as a matter of fact they have no canonical authority to cite for some information on the Śākya race except the present text. We have already discussed Seng-yeu's indebtedness to the present text. Tao-siuan (596-667 A.D.), the founder of the Vinaya school in China was a disciple of Hiuan-tsang. Two of his works the *She-kia she p'u* "A history of the Śākya race" and *She-kia fang che* "A history of the Śākya country" relate to India. The latter is a sort of abstract of the *Si yu ki* of Hiuan-tsang, whereas the former is of the nature of *She-kia p'u* of

Seng-yeu. Tao-siuan refers to the *She eul yeu king* on several occasions in his *She-kiā she p'u* in connection with the names of the members of the Śākya clan and their stature. It is therefore clear that in the sixth and the seventh centuries the Chinese Buddhist scholars attached a great importance to the present work.

The *She eul yeu king* does not therefore seem to have been a Chinese compilation as it is not mentioned as such by the ancient Chinese authorities. The fact that three different translations were made of the same text shows that there was an Indian original of the text. This original text however was not a finished work, but an incomplete compilation of the history of the Śākya race which included also a description of the Jambudvīpa over which the Gautama Buddha exercised his spiritual authority. In regard to the latter part of the work the original was either incomplete or mutilated. A glance at the text shows that it is composed of different elements. Some of which may be traced to different parts of the Vinaya and Āgama works. The elements of its composition are the following:

- I. The life of the Bodhisattva in the a-seng-k'i (*asamkheya*) kalpa.
- II. The life of the Bodhisattva in the Bhadrakalpa and the incarnation of the Bodhisattva.
- III. The history of the Bodhisattva and his family.
- IV. Buddha's predication during the first twelve years of his religious career—[this is the fundamental basis of the text].
- V. A description of the Jambudvīpa and the various countries and islands in it. This portion has no coherent relation with the earlier portion and comes in in an abrupt manner.

# I

The importance of the *She eul yeu king* in the first place lies in the fact that it gives certain details of the life of Buddha which are not found in other texts. The legendary

history of the Bodhisattva of the *asamkheya* kalpa as given in the first part of the text must have been taken from some Jātaka which I have not been able to trace. The story of the descent of the Bodhisattva from the Tuṣita heaven is not found exactly in the same form in which it is given in the present text. The story of this descent is given in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. II, pp. 1ff.) in somewhat similar language. It is said that the Bodhisattva at the time of his descent on earth makes four observations (*vilokita*) in regard to the time, place, continent and the family. In the present text it is said that the Bodhisattva looked around from the Tuṣita heaven to see in which kingdom of the Jambudvīpa he would take birth. During his descent the elephant Yi-lo-man (airāvaṇa) drew his chariot. He is described here as having 33 heads. "Each head has 7 trunks of which each contains a lake. In each lake there are 7 utpala flowers. Upon each flower there is a beautiful girl." In the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* (*Dialogues of Buddha*, III, p. 204) the elephant-king is described as "seven-fold" -*satta-ppatittho*. The translators have explained this expression as meaning the "four legs, two tusks and trunk." But the real meaning seems to be the same as that found in the present text.

In the present text it is said that Buddha had three wives. The first wife was Kiu-yi (Gopī) the daughter of the noble Jalaprabha (*Shuei Kuang*—'water-bright') who was of the Sho-yi family which also belonged to the Gautama clan. The mother of Kiu-yi (Gopī) was Candrakumārī (*Yue-niu*: moon-girl). Jalaprabha lived near the frontier of the kingdom of Kapilavastu. The second wife of the Bodhisattva was Ye-wei-t'an (Yaśodharā) who was the daughter of the noble Ye-she (Yaśa). Yaśodharā was the mother of Lo-yu (Rāhula). The third wife was Lu-yi (Mṛgajā) who was the daughter of the noble She (Śākya?). The text further says that three different palaces were made for the Bodhisattva and each palace was provided with 2,000 dancing girls. This elaborate arrangement for the pleasure of the Bodhisattva was made because he was destined to be a Che-kia-yue (Cakravartin).

This tradition about the three wives of the Bodhisattva runs contrary to the Pāli tradition which has been so long implicitly relied upon. M. Péri in his masterly article, already referred to, has made a comprehensive study of all canonical and non-canonical texts relating to the wives of the Bodhisattva. He has shown that although one wife of Buddha either called Gopā or Yaśodharā is mentioned in a certain number of texts, in a number of equally ancient texts three distinct wives of the Bodhisattva have been clearly mentioned. Thus in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* there is mention of the three wives: Yaśodharā, the daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi, Gopikā, the daughter of Kinkiniśvara and Mṛgajā, the daughter of Kālākrama (?). In a life of Buddha entitled the *Siu hing pen ki king* translated into Chinese in 197 A.D. there is mention of Gopā, the daughter of Suprabuddha and besides of two other wives of whom the names are given in Chinese as Ching-ch'eng-wei and Ch'ang-lo-yi. In another life of Buddha translated into Chinese in the 10th century and entitled the *Chong hui mo ho ti king* there is mention of Yaśodharā, Gopikā and Mṛgajā. Thus it is the tradition contained in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* which is followed in these texts as well as in the *She eul yeu king*.

There is some discrepancy regarding the names of the fathers of the three wives. In some sources it is said that the father of Gopā was Daṇḍapāṇi whereas in other sources he is mentioned as the father of Yaśodharā. But the tradition is probably stated in the most correct form in the *Fo pen hing tsi king* which was translated into Chinese in the sixth century. It is said there that Mahānāman was the father of Yaśodharā, while Daṇḍapāṇi was the father of Gautamī which was probably another name of Gopā as she belonged to the Gautama race. Mahānāman is apparently the same as Yaśa of the *She eul yeu king* because the two names mean the same thing: glory, great glory. It is difficult to say why we get the name *Shuei yue* lit. Jalaprabha in the *She eul yeu king* instead of Daṇḍapāṇi mentioned in

other sources. But there is no doubt that they are the same person. Daṇḍapāṇi belonged to the Śākya race. Jalaprabha also belonged to the same race. It is clearly stated in our text that the name of the family to which he belonged was Sho-yi and that of his clan was Gautama. M. Péri (*loc. cit.*, p. 20) has taken Sho-yi as Śrāvastī. But that is not evidently correct. The old transcription of the name of Śrāvastī in Chinese is Sho-wei. Besides in two other places of the *She eul yeu king* the same name Sho-yi occurs. The first of the Śākya clan is called Sho-yi jen. Then again when the stature of the different members of the Śākya clan is described it is said that the height of the body of other "persons belonging to the Sho-yi family" was 14 ft. Sho-yi therefore seems to be an archaic transcription of the name Śākya. In old pronunciation Sho-yi was something like śia' (g)i (Śāgya < Śākya). Thus it seems that the noble Shue-yue (Jalaprabha) who was the father of Gopī or Gopā belonged to the Śākya family and was the same person as mentioned in other sources as Daṇḍapāṇi. The father of Mṛgajā is according to certain sources Kālākrama or Kālikā but according to the *She eul yeu king* he was again a She i.e. a Śākya.

The story of the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana as told in the present text is essentially the same as that found in other texts for example in the *Mahāvagga* (I, 24), *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* (Taisho, 1444) and the *Mahāvastu* (III, pp. 57ff). But *She eul yeu king* is the only source which states that Maudgalyāyana was a general of the country of Mi-yi-lo (Mithilā?). In all other sources both Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are stated to have belonged to Brahmanical families. In the *Mahāvastu* the story is given as follows: Upatiṣya was the son of a rich Brahmin of Nālandā which was at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagṛha. He was also known as Śāriputra as his father's name was Śāri. He went to the houses of a Guru at Kolitagṛāma for the study of the Vedas. The Guru was a rich Brahmin of the Maudgalyagotra. The latter's son was Kolita. Upatiṣya and Kolita became fast friends. There were five hundred students but Upatiṣya

and Kolita completed their studies earlier. The two friends often met each other even after the completion of their studies. Once both of them went to attend the annual festival of the *Giryagrasamāja*. Kolita went in great pomp in a chariot driven by four horses and accompanied by a thousand servants. The two friends on account of their previous merit developed a dislike for worldly things and decided to take to religious life. They first became the disciple of *Sañjaya Vairāṭiputra*. They were however dissatisfied with the latter's way and soon separated. Buddha was then at *Venuvaṇa*. The *Bhikṣu Upasena* had come to the city of *Rājagṛha* for alms. *Śāriputra* saw him and questioned him about his teacher. Just after the first exchange of words with *Upasena* *Śāriputra* got the spiritual light. When *Śāriputra* came back to the place where *Maudgalyāyana* was waiting the latter at once perceived the change in him. He then hastened to ask him: "How is your teacher called? What has he taught you." *Śāriputra* replied: "The *Tathāgata* has taught the *dharma*s which have a cause and also their cause. The great *Śramaṇa* has also spoken on its cessation." The two friends then went to the *Venuvaṇa*. Buddha foresaw that they were coming, announced it to his disciples and had seats prepared for them. After their initiation *Śāriputra* became an *Arhat* in 7 days and *Maudgalyāyana* in 15 days.

The name of the *Bhikṣu* who gave the first information to *Śāriputra* is here *Upasena*, but in our text it is given as the "master of horse"—*Aśvajit*. That is the name which is also found in the *Pāli Vinaya*. The law of Buddha is described by *Aśvajit* to *Śāriputra* in our text as follows: "According to Buddha all *dharma* has a cause. (He also speaks on) its destruction, on the extinction of all pains and on *nirvāṇa*." It is not quite the same as that expressed in the famous verse—*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*...by which *Śāriputra* first describes the law of Buddha but the four Aryan truths (*catvāri āryasatyāni*). The scene is placed in our text on the road from *Veṇuvana* to *Śrāvastī* but elsewhere at *Veṇuvana* in *Rājagṛha*.

The conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana took place according to our text in the fifth year of his active career as a teacher. The principal events of the first twelve years of his career are given in the text. They do not quite agree with what we know from other sources. According to the present text, Buddha left the house in the 29th year and practised asceticism for six years. He attained Bodhi in the 35th year of his life. From the 8th day of the 4th month till the 15th day of the 7th month he remained seated under the Bodhi tree. This was the first year of his active career. From this account it appears that the 8th day of the 4th month was the day when he attained Bodhi. It is according to all Indian tradition the full moon day of Vaiśākha. This can be the 8th day of the 4th month according to a Calendar (8th April) which commenced in January. He remained under the Bodhi tree up to the 15th day of the 7th month which according to the same Calendar would be the 15th July (Śrāvaṇa). He stayed under the tree for about 14 weeks. It was then that he started for the Deer Park to make his first disciples.

There is no confirmation of this account in other sources. All other accounts unanimously tell us that after the attainment of Bodhi, Buddha stayed under the tree and in its neighbourhood for seven weeks. It was on the last day, that the two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika came and offered him food. They became his first lay disciples. Buddha then thought of revealing his spiritual knowledge to others. He first thought of his former teacher Udraka, but he found out that the latter had died the previous night. He then thought of his five former associates of the Deer Park at Benares. But he left the Bodhi tree only on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha i.e. eight weeks after the attainment of Bodhi. This account is quite reasonable for the fact that the full moon day of Āṣāḍha was the beginning of the Varṣāvāsa. It was therefore necessary for Buddha, according to the ascetic practices of those days, to leave the open space and go to a place of retreat on that day. I believe there is a mistake

in the Chinese translation. We should have 6th month instead of the 7th month. The 15th day of the 6th month would correspond accordingly to the full moon day of Āṣāḍha. It seems that the year of predication was calculated according to the season of retreat (*varṣāvāsa*). As the second year in our account, too, commences with the arrival of the teacher in the Deer Park it is quite natural that the day of his departure from the precincts of the Bodhi tree was the full moon day of Āṣāḍha.

In the second year, Buddha converted A-jo-kiu and his friends. These were Ajñāta Kaundinya and his four friends—Bhadrika, Vāṣpa, Aśvajit and Mahānāman. They are otherwise known as the Bhadravargīyas or the Pañcavargīyas (*Mahāvastu* II, pp. 329 ff.). The place of the conversion of the Bhadravargīyas is wrongly given in some sources as Uruvelā (Kern, *Manual*, p. 24). The others converted in the second year were Pi-p'o-tan, 17 men including Kia-che-lo, the Elder Ta tsai, Eul tsai nien, Yiu-po-yi and the Nirgrantha Cheng nien. He preached the law also to 42 men including Ti-ho-kie-lo fo (Dipaṃkara Buddha). This is not confirmed by other accounts. Pi-p'o-tan and Kia-che-lo are not known from other sources. The Śreṣṭhi Ta-tsai (lit. great talent) may be the same as Yaśa. Yaśa was a rich merchant of Benares. He along with his wife and 54 friends received ordination from Buddha shortly after the conversion of the Bhadravargīyas (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 24). Yiu-po-yi-<sup>\*</sup>Upaga seems to be the same as Upaka, an Ājivika monk, whom the Buddha met on his way to the Deer Park. Upaka was much impressed by the appearance of Buddha and made enquiries about the law followed by him (Kern, *ibid.*, 23).

In the third year Buddha converted the three disciples of Kāśyapa as well as 1000 disciples of theirs. The three disciples of Kāśyapa were Uruvelā Kāśyapa, Nadi Kāśyapa. and Gayā Kāśyapa. Their conversion took place at Uruvelā where Buddha had retired in the third season of retreat. This account agrees with all other sources (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 24).

The happenings of the fourth year also are confirmed

to some extent by other accounts. According to the present text Buddha went to the mountain called Siang-t'eu (*Gaja-śirṣa*) where he converted all kinds of supernatural beings, *Gajaśirṣa* hill is the same as the *Gayaśirṣa* hill of other accounts. It was not far from Uruvelā. According to other accounts, Buddha went to the *Gayaśirṣa* hill accompanied by the three *Kāśyapas* whom he had just converted and gave there a sermon on the *āḍitya-paryāya*. All his hearers there were converted (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 24). The principal events of the fifth year were the conversion of Sse-ho-mei ( ? ) who is not otherwise known and that of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana which we have already discussed.

In the present text it is said that in the sixth year Siu-ta (Sudatta) and Prince Che-t'o (Jeta) made for Buddha a *Śaṅghārāma*, 12 pagodas, 72 halls, 3600 rooms and 500 towers. This is evidently a reference to the gift of the *Jetavana* at Śrāvastī by Sudatta who is also known as *Anāthapiṇḍika*. According to other sources the sole donor was Sudatta. He purchased the *Jetavana* from Prince Jeta at a fabulous price and erected a splendid monastery, in the midst a private room (*gandhakūṭi*) for the master and all around separate dwellings for the senior monks, cells etc. (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 28). The exact number of these constructions is not given in other sources.

The events of the 7th, 8th and 9th years, as recorded in the present text, are not quite clear. Buddha was in the country of Kiu-ye-ni in the 7th year. Kiu-ye-ni \* Ku-zia-ni seems to be Kuśinagara. Buddha, we are told, communicated the *Pan-cheu-king* to eight men including the Bodhisattva So-t'o-ho. Two texts *Pan-cheu-king* were translated as early as the end of the 2nd century A.D. by the Yue-che Lokakṣema (*Hobogirin*, nos. 417, 418). The Sanskrit titles of the texts have been restored as *Bhadrāpāla-sūtra*. The name of the Bodhisattva is not known from other sources. In the 8th year Buddha resided on the mountain Liu and converted King Chen-t'o-lo—Candra. In the 9th year he was

in the lake Wei and converted T'o-kiu-mo. These informations are not confirmed by other sources. *Wei* may be a mistake for *an-wei* which would have rendered the name of the lake Anavatapta (Pkt. *anotatta*). Some of the legendary accounts would have us believe that Buddha went to the Anavatapta lake and converted the Nāga king there.

In the 10th year Buddha came back to Mo-kie (Magadha) and converted Fo-kia-sha. The person converted seems to be Pukkusa who was a disciple of Ālāra Kālāma. The place of his conversion is given in other sources as Pāvā (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 43). The event of the 11th year is not recorded in other sources. We are told that Buddha spoke on the past life to Maitreya under "the fearful tree" (?). From other sources we learn that Buddha passed some time in the Deer Park of a Yakṣa called Bhayaṃkara in the country of the Bhargas. The name of the Yakṣa is also given as Bheskala in some texts (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 34).

The main events of the 12th year, as recorded in the present text, were Buddha's return to Kapilavastu, conversion of Ch'a-mo-kie on the way to the city and conversion of the members of the Śākya clan. Ch'a-mo-kie may be Sumāgadhā, who was the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, married to a rich merchant of the Aṅga country. Buddha had been to the Aṅga country to pay her a visit (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 38).

In a résumé of events in the Chinese text it is said that Buddha visited 14 countries in course of these twelve years. There are three lacunæ in the Chinese text which have been indicated by dots in our translation. In spite of these lacunæ it is clear that the number of countries mentioned are only seven. The number 14 has been given by taking into consideration the Chinese translations of the seven names. The seven countries visited by Buddha are the following: (1). The country of king Po-sse-jo (Pasenādi-Prasenajit) i.e. Kosala. The name of Prasenajit is translated as *ho-yue* "joyful." The old transcription Po-sse-jo can be restored only as *Pasena*. This was understood by the Chinese translator as

"joyful" (-*prasanna*). (2). *Kia-wei-lo-yue*—*Kapilavastu*—the translation of the name as *miao-to* "good merit" is quite regular (Rosenberg, *Vocabulary*, p. 130). (3). *Sho-wei*—*Śrāvasti*; the Chinese translation—*wu wu pu yu* literally means *abhāva-niḥsattva* "without substance, without character". This was the translation of a symbolical name of *Śrāvasti* as in the case of *Kapilavastu*. In the case of *Vaiśālī* also we will find such a name. (4). *Wei-ye-li*—*Vaiśālī*, there are two Chinese translations of the name. *Kuang-ta* "vast" is the literal translation of the name. The other *tu sheng sse* "saving from birth and death" is, I believe, the translation of the symbolical name. (5). *Lo-yue-ki* is *Rājagṛha*. The Chinese translation of the name as *wang she* "king's house" is more commonly found in the texts than the transcribed name. (6). *Kiu-leu* is evidently a transcription of the name *Kuru*. The translation of the name as *che she kuo* "the country of the masters of knowledge" is a reference to the old tradition that the *Kuru* country was famous for its lore of knowledge. (7). *Po-lo-nai*—*Vārāṇasī*. *Lu-ye*—"*Deer Park*" (*Mṛgadāva*) is wrongly given as translation of the name of the country.

It may be reasonably questioned why the present text gives a description of the activities of Buddha only for twelve years. The cycle of events as described here is a perfectly complete cycle. After Buddha had taken the decision of preaching his law to others he set out on his self-imposed errand, visited all the principal countries in North-India and ultimately returned to the country of his nativity where he preached his law to his own people and converted them. The subsequent career of Buddha as described in other sources is nothing but a repetition of visits to the same old centres and conversion of other peoples who did not play any significant part in the history of the faith. Were these twelve years the whole career of Buddha according to the earlier sources?

It may be pointed out that even according to other sources there is a complete blank in the career of Buddha for twenty-

three years. There is in these sources a narration of events up to the 20th year of Buddha's religious career. There is then a blank of 23 years. After that, there is a resumption of the account of what happened during the last eight years of Buddha's life (Kern, *ibid.*, p. 38)

The blank is explained in the following manner in an account of the *Fo shuo pa ta ling t'a hao king* which I translated some time ago (*J. H. Q.* XVII, pp. 223 ff.). The text was rendered into Chinese by Fa-t'ien towards the end of the 10th century. The text contains the following gāthās:

"Twenty-nine years I passed in the royal palace. For six years I practised asceticism on the snowy mountain. For five years I converted men in the city of Rājagṛha. For four years I stayed in the *Pi-sha* forest. For two years I stayed peacefully on the *Jo-li-yen* (Nairāṇjanā). For twenty-three years I stayed in Śrāvastī. In the city of Vaiśālī, in the Mṛgadāva, *Mo-kiu-li* and Trayastrimsā heaven, *She-shu-na*\* and *Kiao-shen-mi* (Kauśāmbi) on the peak of the Ratnacaitya mountain and in wilderness, in the town of *Wei-nu*, *Fei-lan-ti*, in the city of *Kia-pi*, the capital of king Suddhodana, in each of these places the Śākya Tathāgata travelled and stayed for one year—thus eighty years he lived in this world. Afterwards the *meu-ni* (muni) entered Nirvāṇa.

*Pi-sha* (wrongly printed in the article referred to, as Pihha) seems to be the same as Bheskala forest which belonged to the country of the Bhargas. *Mo-kiu-li* may be Mucalinda, the Nāga, in whose place Buddha stayed for some time. *She-shu-na* is the Śimśumārāgiri, the capital of the Bhargas. *Wei-nu* may be Veṇuvana. *Fei-lan-ti* is Verañja. The blank of 23 years is explained here as a "stay in Śrāvastī". According to this account the first period consists of the activities during the first eleven years after the attainment of Bodhi. It was followed by 23 years' stay in Śrāvastī. The last period consists of eight or nine years. There is a mistake

in the calculation by one or two years. The first period of active career probably lasted for eleven years. Then came the prolonged stay of twenty-three years at Śrāvastī. That would make in all 80 years ( $29+6+11+23+9+2=80$  years). From this account too it appears that the period of Buddha's activities lasted for twelve years including the year of his attainment of Bodhi. It was followed by the long period of blank. The account of the *She-eul-yeu-king* in this regard seems to have a special significance.

## II

The text contains the first literary mention in a text of Indian origin of *Devaputra* in the special sense in which the Kushans used it in India. In the last section of the text which concerns Jambudvīpa it is said that there are four Devaputras—"Sons of Heaven" (Chinese T'ien-tseu). "In the East there is the Devaputra of the Tsin. The people are prosperous there. In the South there is the Devaputra of the country of T'ien-chu. The country is much noted for its elephants. In the West there is the Devaputra of Ta-ts'in. The country produces gold, silver, gems and jade. In the North-West there is the Devaputra of the Yue-che. The country produces many good horses." Thus the four countries which possessed Devaputras were Tsin—China, T'ien-chu—India, Ta-ts'in—Roman Orient, and the Yue-che country or the Indo-Scythian Empire.

It is now admitted that the Kushan Emperors borrowed the title Devaputra—"Son of Heaven" from China. Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsudeva, all use this title. The kings of Khotan who were most probably connected with the Kushans use the same title in the Kharoṣṭhi documents of the Stein Collection. Tien-tseu or the 'Son of Heaven' was the regular title of the Emperor of China. It did not have that special significance anywhere else. The Kushan Emperors were the first to establish contact with China, Persia and the Roman Empire and to use titles signifying the Imperial dignity in all the countries with which they entertained relations.

As the Emperor of India they used the common Indian title *mahārāja*. But they also borrowed the title *rājātirāja* "the king of kings" from Iran, the title of *devaputra*—"the son of Heavens" from China and most probably the title of *kaisara* (Cæsar) from the Roman Empire. The reading of the last title which is found only in the Ara Inscription of Vajeshkaputra Kaniska (Konow, *Corpus*, p. 165) is doubtful. It is however quite probable that a great Kushan king would use such a title, as it was the last of a series of titles known to him signifying the Imperial dignity.

A number of references to the Kushan use of the title of Devaputra found in almost contemporary literature has been cited by Profs. Lévi and Pelliot. The commentary of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* by Nāgārjuna which has been preserved in a Chinese translation of Kumārajīva under the title of *Ta che tu luen* mentions four kinds of gods—"gods by name, gods by birth, gods by purity, and gods by natural purity." The text further says that the god by name "is now the king whom one calls Devaputra." In a Chinese text entitled *Nan cheu yi wu che* compiled by Wan-chen in the 3rd century A.D., now known only from some quotations in other texts, it is clearly stated that "the king in the Yue-che country is called the 'son of Heaven'—(Devaputra)." Lastly I believe that the same tradition is recorded, but in a slightly altered form, by Hiuan-tsang. While speaking about the kingdom of Kie-p'an-t'o (Tash Kurghan) in the Pamirs, the pilgrim tells us that the rulers of the country styled themselves Chi-na-t'i-p'i-k'iu-tan-lo (Cina-deva-gotra) as they claimed descent from a Chinese lady and the sun-god (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 286; Beal—*Buddhist Records*, II, p. 300). Devagotra in this case is reminiscent of Devaputra, the title used by the Kushans. Tash Kurghan which is on the way from Kashmir to Kashgar was certainly one of the most important Yue-che outposts towards Central Asia. It is therefore quite natural that even in the 7th century a petty ruling dynasty in the inaccessible mountains would still call themselves Devaputra and claim through it a relation-

ship with China. Chi-na-t'i-p'o-k'iu-tan-lo may be as well a mistake for—t'i-p'o-fo-tan-lo (Devaputra) which Yi-tsing mentions on two occasions. In one of his works (Chavannes, *Mémoire sur les Religieux éminents*, p. 56, n. 3) he refers to T'i-p'o-fo-tan-lo (Devaputra) as the title of the Emperor who resided at the Chinese capital. In another work (*Records of the Buddhist Practices*, Takakusu, p. 136) he explains it more fully. "When they (Indians) hear that one is a priest of Devaputra (T'i-p'o-fo-tan-lo) all pay great honour and respect, wherever one goes. Deva (t'i-po) means 'heaven' (t'ien) and putra (fo tan lo) means 'son' (tseu); the priest of the Devaputra is more fully 'One who has come from the place where dwells the Son of Heaven of Cina (China).'"

Devaputra in this special sense is used in a section of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* which has been discussed in detail by Prof. Lévi and compared by him with its different Chinese and Tibetan translations. The most significant lines are the following:

*kṛm cāpi mānuṣe loke jāyate śrīyate nṛpaḥ  
api vai devasambhūto devaputraḥ sa ucyate.  
trayastrimśair devarājendrain bhāgo datto .....*

"Although he is born and although he flourishes in the world of men but as his existence depends on the gods he is called *devaputra*. The thirty-three greatest kings of gods all give him a portion each..."

Prof. Lévi has shown that the Brahmanical texts like the *Manusmṛhitā* and the *Mahābhārata* contain similar ideas on the divine origin of royalty, but there is no mention of the title *devaputra*. Kanishka was a patron of Mahāyāna. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* is a very ancient Mahāyāna work. The special importance which it attaches to the title *devaputra* in the sense in which the Kushan emperors used it shows that the text was compiled in the Kushan period.

The title *devaputra* according to Prof. Lévi was introduced in India by the Yue-che through an Iranian medium. "The Yue-che emperors", Prof. Lévi says, "before

introducing in India the Imperial title which they had picked up from the Chinese in course of their periplegations in order to round the Pamir, had been in contact, as well as in conflict, with the people speaking an Iranian language who extended up to Central Asia. They were specially in contact with the Arsacidan dynasty, the successors of the Seleucides, who had extended their empire up to the frontiers of India. It was certainly in this region that an Iranian translation of the Chinese title *t'ien-tseu* was elaborated and fixed under the form *bagpuhr*". This Arsacidan form *bagpuhr* was according to Lévi the intermediary through which the Chinese *t'ien-tseu* became *devaputra*.

But the presence of the title *bagpuhr* in Iranian can be ascertained only through a Sogdian intermediary *βγρwr* which occurs in a solitary old Sogdian letter which was found in a mutilated condition. The Arab geographers and travellers of later times mention the title either as *baghbur* or as *faghfur* which must have reached them through Persian sources. But the intermediate stages are unknown. Besides the Chinese sources which alone speak of the migration of the Yue-ches to the Oxus valley and of their ultimate conquest of India do not say that the earlier Yue-che rulers used the title. The Kushans only used this title after the conquest of India and after the foundation of an empire which extended from the Hindukush up to Eastern India. Devaputra was not the only title which they used. They used besides, the titles of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja and probably also Kaisara. It was therefore the deliberate expression of the sentiment of vainglory on the part of the first Kushan Emperor of India. It is thus more likely that 'Devaputra' was not conceived after an Iranian original like *bagpuhr* but directly after the Chinese tradition. The Kushan Emperors of India had direct relation with China. It must be remembered that the ancient Khotanese rulers who had Kushan affinities use the Indian title *devaputra* in spite of the fact that the local language of Khotan was a form of Eastern Iranian. It is therefore more probable that the Iranian

*bagpuhr* instead of being the basis of the Sanskrit *devaputra* was an adaptation of the Sanskrit title.

It is true that the passage of the *She eul yeu king* which we have already quoted and which mentions the four Devaputras of the Jambudvīpa places the Yue-che country outside India. It locates China in the East, India in the South, Ta-ts'in (Roman Orient) in the West and the Yue-che country in the North-West. But the starting point of this geographical distribution is not clear. Ta-ts'in was in the West and China in the East in relation to Iran. But how could the Yue-che country be placed in the North-West in the same sense. The importance lies not in the geography but in the fact that the compiler of the *She eul yeu king* knew that the Emperor of China was known as Devaputra and so also the Yue-che (Kushan) Emperors of India. For him *devaputra* was a title which conveyed the sense of a paramount ruler and that is why he used it to describe the four great rulers of the world known to him.

The "theory of the four sovereigns" has been discussed by Prof. Pelliot in great detail in his article which I have already mentioned. He has quoted various texts in which this theory has been elaborated and has also tried to trace similar notions in India but without much success. The Chinese and Arabic sources, as he has shown, are full of references to this theory but such references in Indian sources are very meagre.

Hiuan-tsang in the introduction to his *Si-yu-ki* first of all gives a description of the Buddhist cosmology and then introduces the story of the four great sovereigns of Jambudvīpa and their respective countries. The Buddhist cosmology as given by Hiuan-tsang is the same as found in other Buddhist texts, for example in the *Abhidharmaśāstra* (Vallée Poussin, III, pp. 45ff.). According to this cosmology there are four islands: Videha in the East, Jambu in the South, Godānīya in the West and Kuru in the North. The king who rules over all the four islands is called "Gold Wheel king" (*suvarṇa-cakravartin*). The king who rules over the

three islands excepting the northern one is called the "Silver Wheel king" (*raupya-caṅkaravartin*). The ruler of two islands—Jambudvīpa and Videha are called "Copper Wheel king" (*tāmra-caṅkaravartin*). The "Iron Wheel king" (*ayas-caṅkaravartin*) bears sway only on the Jambudvīpa. How this gradual decay in the sovereign power of the kings took place has been told in the *She eul yeu king* (§. II) with reference to the kings of the Śākya race. Destruction of life was the cause which gradually brought about this decadence. It also shortened the life of the rulers and brought diseases on earth. While speaking about the Cakravartin rulers the *She eul yeu king* however speaks of the four heavens (*t'ien*) instead of the four dvīpas. The Iron Wheel king is according to it the king of the Southern Heaven which corresponds to the Southern Island or Jambudvīpa of other sources.

Hiuan-tsang then speaks of the four great sovereigns of the Jambudvīpa. The information given by him is not found in any other Buddhist cosmological source. He tells us (Watters, I, pp. 35ff.) that when the last Cakravartin king (i.e. the Iron Wheel king) ceased to exist, the Jambudvīpa was divided amongst four sovereigns. These four sovereigns were the Elephant-Lord (*Gajapati*) in the South, the Lord of Precious substances (*Ratnapati*) in the West, the Horse-Lord (*Aśvapati*) in the North and Man-Lord (*Narapati*) in the East. Watters has summarised the passage thus:

"In the South is the Elephant-Lord whose territory has a hot moist climate with people energetic, devoted to study and addicted to magical arts, wearing garments which cross the body and leave the right shoulder bare: their hair is made into a topknot in the middle and hangs down on the sides: they associate in towns and live in houses of several storeys. In the West is the Lord of Precious Substances who rules over the sea abounding in pearls, whose subjects are rude and covetous, wear short coats fastened to the left, cut their hair short and have long mustachios; they live in towns also and are traders. The Horse-Lord rules in the North; his

country is very cold yielding horses, and with inhabitants of a wild fierce nature who commit murder without remorse, they live in felt tents and are migratory herdsmen. In the East is the Man-Lord who has a well-peopled territory with a genial climate where all good manners and social virtues prevail and the people are attached to the soil."

Tao-suan, who summarised the *Si-yu-ki* in his *She kia fang che*, has identified the four sovereigns of the Jambudvīpa mentioned by Hiuan-tsang but in rather vague terms. He identifies the Elephant-Lord (*Gajapati*) with the king of India, the Lord of Precious Substances (*Ratnapati*) with the king of Hu (the barbarians), the Horse-Lord (*Aśvapati*) with the T'u-kiue (Turks), and the Man-Lord (*Narapati*) with China. He adds that in the country of the Elephant-Lord the king rules the country with the help of "soldiers mounted on elephants." In a later work named the *Siu kao seng chuan* (compiled between 664 and 667) Tao-suan gives a more precise identification of the four regions while narrating the biography of Hiuan-tsang. He says that in India there is a tradition that Jambudvīpa is governed by four kings. "The East is called Che-na (Cīna)—the lord of the country is the king over men. The West is called Po-sse (Persia), the lord of the country is the king over gems. The South is called Yin-tu (India)—the lord of the country is the king over elephants." The North is called Hien-yun (Hieng-nu, i.e. Turks etc.)—the lord of the country is the king over horses".

It is quite clear from this that Tao-suan was trying to elaborate the information supplied by Hiuan-tsang either verbally or through the *Si-yu-ki*, in the light of the geographical knowledge then possessed by the Chinese scholars. We have already seen that Tao-suan knew the *She eul yeu king* and utilised it on several occasions for his compilation of the *She-kia she p'u*. But he does not follow the identification of regions as given in that text—China in the East (noted for the prosperity of its people), T'ien-chu (India) in the south (noted for its elephant), Ta-ts'in (Roman Orient) in the West

(noted for its precious substances), and Yue-che in the North-West (noted for its horses). The reason is quite evident. Ta-ts'in and Yue-che had ceased to exist in the time of Hiuan-stang and Tao-siuan. So instead of these he gives two names of real significance in his time—Po-sse (Persia) in the West and T'u-kiue (Turks) in the North. Therefore the theory of the four sovereigns—*Narapati*, in the East, *Gajapati* in the South, *Aśvapati* in the North (or North-West, and *Ratnapati* in the West, is the most important issue of what has been said. Their association with certain geographical areas has not the same importance. The theory was used by each author in his own way. The Arab geographers of later times, as Prof. Pelliot has shown, did the same thing. Two important texts have been cited by Prof. Pelliot in this respect. In a text dated 851 attributed to one Sulayman the following statement occurs:

"The people of India and China are of unanimous opinion regarding the fact that the (great) kings of the earth are four in number. The foremost of the four kings according to them is the king of the Arabs (i.e. the Khalif of Baghdad). The Indians and the Chinese agree without any contradiction as to the fact that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings, the richest and the most magnificent. He is the king of the great religion (Islam) above which there is none. The king of China places himself in the second rank after the king of the Arabs. Next come the king of Rum (Byzantium) and the Ballahra (Vallabhārāja or the Cālukya king)."

The other text is the account of a conversation of Ibn Wahab with the Emperor of China. Ibn Wahab was granted an audience by the Emperor sometime between 872 and 875. The account which is of the beginning of the 10th century, runs as follows:

"The king (i.e. the Emperor of China) then asked. How do you classify the kings (of the earth). The king told the interpreter. 'Tell Ibn Wahab that we, Chinese, we count five kings. He who possesses the richest kingdom is the

king of Irak, because Irak is in the centre of the world and other kingdoms surround it. In China one calls him the *king of kings*. After him comes the king of China whom we call *the king of men* because there is no other king who can establish the basis of peace better or maintain the order better than what we do in our own country. There is no other king of whom the subjects are more loyal to the king than ours. This is the reason why the king of China is called the king of men. Then comes *the king of ferocious beasts*: this is the king of the Turks (of Toguz-Oguz) who is our neighbour. Then comes the *king of elephants* i.e. the king of India. He is also called in China the king of wisdom because wisdom is native in India. Last comes the king of Rum (Byzantium) whom we call *the king of fine men*."

These two passages clearly show that the Arab travellers also had access to the old theory of the four sovereigns and that they were making use of it to their own advantage—giving the highest place to their own ruler in the list. The Arab travellers might have picked it up in India. But a more possible source of derivation was the Buddhist lore which was carried to Baghdad between 786 and 808 A.D. by the Barmakide converts of Balkh (Sachau, *Alberuni*, p. xxxi).

But the theory whether picked up in India or not was long current in India. Prof. Pelliot has referred to a tradition current in India and recorded by both Burnouf and Lassen. The tradition says that after the fall of the Pāṇḍavas India was divided amongst four kings: Narapati, Gajapati, Chatrapati, and Aśvapati. In the *Āin-i-Ākbari* there is a description of the play of cards which are connected with twelve kings. The first three are Aśvapati, Gajapati and Narapati. The fourth is the *gaḍhpati* which certainly means the lord of forts (Hindi—gaḍh). The fifth is the *dhanapati* (the lord of treasures—the same as the earlier *ratnapati*). There is no mention of Chatrapati. Lastly Prof. Pelliot refers to a traditional list of kings given to Buchanan in 1807 which mentions Yudhiṣṭhira, Vikramāditya, Salivāhana, Bhoja, then three kings, and then tradition says "After this

Naraputti, Gajaputti and Ashaputti, three thrones were established." The list communicated to Buchanan seems to have been a traditional Rājavaṃśa similar to what is incorporated in the Tantras. I have recently discussed one such Rājavaṃśa (*A new source of the political history of Kāmarūpa, Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, XVIII, pp. 230 ff.) entitled Haragauri-saṃvāda. This list while speaking of the kings of the Kali age mentions Yudhiṣṭhira, the Nandas, the Gautamas, the Mayuras (Mauryas), the Pāṇḍavas (?), the Śakas, Vikramāditya and Bhoja. The list then says that with Bhoja the line of Kṣatriya rulers who were entitled to be Cakravartī came to an end. This may have some historical significance. King Bhoja was the founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire and had some claim to paramountcy. We shall see later on that the inscriptions of the rulers belonging to some of the petty dynasties which succeeded the Gurjara-Pratihāras mention for the first time the three types of rulers—Aśvapati, Narapati and Gajapati.

It is quite clear that the later Indian tradition has reduced the number of four sovereigns to three—Aśvapati, Gajapati and Narapati. Ratnapati although found in the *Āin-i-Ākbari* under the name Dhanapati has been omitted probably because it did not correspond to anything known. But the number had been so reduced still earlier. Of all the Indian inscriptions only the later records of eleventh and twelfth centuries mention the three lords, Aśvapati, Gajapati and Narapati. We know that after the Mahomedan conquest of North Bengal the successors of Lakṣmaṇasena continued to rule as independent kings from Vikrampur (Dacca). Two of these rulers Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena who were ruling towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries call themselves "Lord of the three kings"—Aśvapati, Gajapati and Narapati—*aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati* (N. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Varendra Research Society Publication, pp. 136, 145). Amongst other ruling dynasties of North India the Gahaḍavālas, the Haihayas and the Candellas use the same

titles in this period. Govindacandra, Jayacandra and Hariścandra of the Gahaḍavāla dynasty, who ruled in the 12th century, call themselves overlord of *Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati*. Some of the Haihaya rulers, specially Kaṇa and his successor who ruled in the latter part of the 11th and in the 12th centuries call themselves—*nija-bhujopārajit-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati*. The Candella Trailokyamalla who ruled in the 13th century use the same title—*nija-bhujopārjit.....rāja-trayādhipati* (See H. C. Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, pp. 519, 532, 541, etc. and II, pp. 724-725, 784, 785, etc.). They do not mean three particular rulers but only three kinds of rulers. No importance can be attached to the usual claim made by these petty rulers of the most ignominious period of Indian history to overlordship of the three kinds of rulers. It however shows that the tradition was still alive, that paramount sovereignty (cakravartin) implied mastery over the three kinds of rulers—*Āśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati*. The fourth in the list (*Ratnapati*) had been dropped. The *Sabdaśālpadruma* (sub. verb. *cakṛa*) gives a description of different kinds of forts (*koṭṭa*) after a source entitled *Samayāmṛta* and in that connection it mentions different kinds of rulers like the lords of Gaja, Āśva and Ratha, the Sāmanta, the Maṇḍaleśvara etc. (*gajāśva-ratha-bhūpālāḥ sāmantaḥ maṇḍaleśvaraḥ*). In this text also *gajapati*, *āśvapati*, *rathapati* are taken as different types of rulers.

It is the same old theory of the four sovereigns bereft of its geographical association. The geographical association was a new accretion in every age: with the author of the *She eul yeu king* it is India, China, Yue-che country and the Roman Orient; with Tao-siuan it is China, India, Persia and T'u-kiue and with the Arabs it is either Irak, China, Rum (Byzantium) and India or Irak, China, India, (Toguz-Oguz) and Rum. But Hiuan-tsang more faithful to Indian tradition mentions only South (*Gajapati*), North (*Āśvapati*), East (*Narapati*) and West (*Ratnapati*). The tradition survived in India in a slightly modified form up to later times.

## III

What was then the origin of the theory of four sovereigns? It had apparently nothing to do with four traditional divisions of the army: *hasti*, *aśva*, *ratha* and *patti* i.e. elephant, horse, chariot and infantry (Cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti*—Sakaki, p. 252). This fourfold army (*caturaṅga-balakāya*) is always associated with any king whatsoever and we do not hear of kings possessing only one of these divisions. The *Aśvapati*, *Pilupati*, and *Narapati* i.e. master of men (officer in charge of the subjects) are also mentioned in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (*ibid.*, pp. 256-257) but they are merely officers of the king. None of them represents a particular type of ruler.

We have seen that the theory of the four sovereigns is intimately connected with the conception of the Cakravartin ruler. In the golden age the Cakravartin was a ruler of the four mythical worlds of the Buddhist cosmography—(Uttara)-Kuru, (Purva)-Videha, Godāniya and Jambudvīpa. Through gradual decay of power the Cakravartin came to be the ruler of one world only, namely the Jambudvīpa. The Cakravartin ruler of Jambudvīpa was also the overlord of the four types of kings: *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, *Narapati* and *Ratnapati*. With the disappearance of the last Cakravartin the sovereignty of Jambudvīpa was divided amongst these four types of rulers. In later traditions *Chatrapati* replaces the *Ratnapati* but that also is soon dropped from the list; only the first three remains: *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, and *Narapati*. Even the vainglorious rulers of the Sena dynasty of Bengal and a few other minor dynasties of Northern India in order to establish a claim to the position of Cakravartin call themselves the overlords of the three kinds of kings.

Therefore according to the old theory a Cakravartin was the overlord of the four kinds of kings: *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, *Narapati* and *Ratnapati*. The ancient Buddhist texts mention amongst other requisite possessions of a Cakravartin the seven treasures (*sapta-ratnāni*). These seven treasures are: *Cakra*, *Hasti*, *Aśva*, *Maṇi*, *Stri*, *Gṛhapati*, and *Pari-*

nāyaka (*Mahāvvyutpatti*, p. 251). The first four help the king to establish his supremacy quickly over the whole earth up to the furthest limit of the horizon (*cakravāla*). They are of divine origin. But the next three Strī, Gṛhapati and Pariṇāyaka are of human origin. Gṛhapati is a householder. That is the meaning attached to it in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Tib. khyim bdag). Pariṇāyaka means a minister (Tib. blon po). But in the Pāli texts (*Mahāsudassana-sutta*. *Dīgha Nikāya—Dialogues of Buddha*, vol. II) Gahapati is interpreted as a treasurer and Pariṇāyaka as an adviser. Whatever may be their real significance, the last three treasures of the sapta-ratna viz., Strī, Gṛhapati and Pariṇāyaka are of human origin and the master of these three may be simply styled a Narapati. But it is not still clear if this conception of seven treasures essential for a king to rise to the position of a Cakravartin had anything to do with the old theory of the four sovereigns. All the elements of the theory are there: the best of horses (Aśva-ratna), the best of elephants (Hasti-ratna), the best of gems (Maṇi-ratna) and the best of human beings associated with him in three essential capacities as wife, treasurer and minister (strī, gṛhapati, and pariṇāyaka). Aśvapati, Gajapati etc. may also be interpreted in these senses i.e. not as the Lord of Horse, Lord of Elephant etc. but as the king of horses, the king of elephants, etc.

However in the oldest source, the *She eul yeu king* in which this theory of four sovereigns is found for the first time, the theory is formulated in a different way. The four Lords: Aśvapati etc. are so many sovereign rulers connected with the four quarters: North, South, West and East. This seems to be an elaboration of another aspect of the Cakravartin. A Cakravartin is one who is "the Lord of the Four Quarters" (*Dīgha Nikāya*, loc. cit.). His sovereignty extends in every direction up to the very end of the Cakravāla. But with the disappearance of a Cakravartin the rulers of the four quarters become independent. An Indian author of the Kushan period would naturally be tempted to elaborate this theory further in the light of the geographical

knowledge possessed by him. The kings of the four quarters according to the old theory were connected with the essential requisites of the Cakravartin, *aśva*, *gaja*, *maṇi* and *nara*. In the north and the north-west the Yue-che and other Central Asian nomads were famous in India as horse-breeders. The Kamboja horse imported from the north-west was known to be the best. The sea-route connecting Western India with the Græco-Roman world was being frequently used by the Greek sailors and the wealth of the Roman Empire (Ta-ts'in) was soon becoming proverbial. Southern India was famous for its elephants. The Chinese Empire in the East with its vast agglomeration of human races was known for its general prosperity. The compiler of the *She eul yeu king* must have belonged to Kashmir or at any rate to North-Western India.

A similar information which a Chinese traveller named K'ang-t'ai picked up in Further India (Fu-nan) from Indian sources in the middle of the third century A.D. (Pelliot, *BEFEO.*, III, 275-276)—"It is said in the foreign countries that there are three abundances under the sky: the abundance of men in China, the abundance of gems in Ta-ts'in, the abundance of horses in the Yue-che country." He had not either heard anything about the abundance of elephants in Southern India or attached any special importance to it as elephants were equally abundant in Further India. Hence it is the question of this abundance which guided the unknown compiler of the *She eul yeu king* while he was altering the old theory in the light of things known to him. The idea of two abundances at least continued to be proverbial in India for a long time. *Īśānavarman*, the Maukhari king of the 6th century while carrying on military campaign in different directions speaks of having defeated the Andhras "who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants" and the Śūlikas who had "a cavalry of countless galloping horses" (Basak—*History of North-Eastern India*, p. 111). The Śūlikas whom I have shown to be the Sogdian immigrants to India must

have belonged to the mass of Central Asian nomads settled in the North-West of India. (*Śūlika, Culika and Culikā-Paisāci*—*Journal of Letters*, vol. **xxi**).

It may not be out of place to point out that the association of Aśvapati with the North-West of India is very old. The name Aśvapati is associated in the Epics with two countries in the North-West, Kekaya and Madra. An Aśvapati of Kaikeya is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. He was contemporaneous with king Janaka of Mithilā. The same name Aśvapati, is borne by the maternal uncle of Bharata (*Rāmāyaṇa* II, 9. 22 etc.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 36). In the *Mahābhārata* the name is associated with the Madra country. Dr. Raychaudhuri has shown on the evidence available in the epics that the two countries were contiguous,—Kekaya was between Gandhāra and the Beas and Madra, between the Beas and the Irāvati. The city of Śākala belonged to the latter country. It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, 292) that king Aśvapati of Madra was the father of Sāvitrī. It is not likely that in all these cases Aśvapati has been used as a proper name. King Śalya of Madra fought on the side of the Kurus in the Mahābhārata war. When Karna assumed the control of the Kuru army he was selected as his charioteer on account of his special knowledge of horses. His knowledge of horses it is said, was greater than that of Mātali, the charioteer of Indra. He knew the nature of horses (aśvahrdaya) well and was an expert in the treatment of the horses (*Mahābhārata*, Karna, 32, verses 60-61; 35, verses 4ff.). Nakula, the fourth Pāṇḍava, who was a direct nephew of Śalya also knew the same art and by virtue of it assumed the control of king Virāt's stable during one year of their *incognito* life (Virāt, II, verse, 2); King Śalya is described in the Ādiparva (107, verse 3) as *Bāhika-puṅgava*, the best man amongst the Bāhikas. The northern Punjab to which Madra country belonged is also called Bāhika, probably a corrupt form of the same name Bāhika, in the

*Mahābhārata* (Karna, 44) and the tribes living in that part of the country are decried for their bad manners. The Central Asian nomads had already come up to the Punjab before the *Mahābhārata* had passed through the final stage of its development.

Lastly two inscriptional evidences of a later period probably bear out the same association of Aśvapati with the Madra country in the Punjab. The first is the Udayagiri Inscription of the Gupta Era 108 (426 A.D.) of the time of Kumāragupta (Fleet, *Corpus*, p. 258). It records the pious gift of a Jaina teacher named Ācārya Gośarman. He was the son of the Aśvapati, a soldier named Saṅghila, who was born "in the region of the north, the best of countries which resembles the land of Northern Kurus (in beatitude)." The Northern Kuru country was compared only with the Northern Madra country in ancient times. It therefore seems that there is an allusion to the Madra country and its rulers who bore the title of Aśvapati. In the Haraha Inscription of the sixth century the Maukharī kings also claim descent from Aśvapati of the solar race. This, according to certain scholars, suggests early relation of the Maukharis with the Madras of the Punjab (Sen—*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 241).

## She Eul Yeu King

"Sūtra spoken by Buddha on the twelve [years'] wanderings" translated by Sha-men Kālodaka of the Western country (Si-yu)—under the Eastern Tsin dynasty; Taisho ed. no. 195.

### [ I. ]

In the A-seng-k'i (asamkheya) kalpa the Bodhisattva was the king of a country. His father and mother died early. He gave the kingdom to his younger brother. After giving up the kingdom he travelled seeking to learn the law. (While thus travelling) he saw from a distance a Brahmin of the K'iu-tan (Gautama) family. He then followed the Brahmin to learn the law (from him). The Brahmin told the Bodhisattva: "Think of the royal dress on your body. You will have to put on a dress made of matted hairs like that of mine which I got from the Gautama family." The Bodhisattva then got a garment like that to cover his body and thus became one of the Gautama family.

Then after purifying himself he entered the deep mountainous forest and sat on the peak of a hill absorbed in the meditation of the law. The Brahmin then said: "You were a king. You were respected and you lived in happiness. Now you will have to submit to pains."

So in the summer he had to drink water and eat only fruits and melons. In the winter he returned to the city and at the cross roads begged for his food. Then he came back underneath the tree to practise meditation with an undisturbed mind. Once while the Bodhisattva came back to his country to beg for food the king of the country down to his people could not recognise him. He had become a small Gautama. The Bodhisattva stayed in the mangoe (kan-ko) garden outside the city. A vihāra (king-she) was erected there. Inside it there was only one seat.

There were then five hundred notorious thieves in that country. They had stolen the things of the royal officers

and were running away. They were passing by the vihāra of the Bodhisattva. They then left their foot marks there and also abandoned the (stolen) things on either side of the vihāra.

The next day the people came out in search of the thieves and by following their foot marks came up to the vihāra of the Bodhisattva. They arrested the Bodhisattva and questioned him for information on the notorious thieves. They had committed theft many times. The punishment was more than death. The king ordered the ministers to give him an exemplary punishment. As the law in regard to such men was to put them on the stake so the Bodhisattva also was put on the stake. His body was bleeding and the blood was flowing down to the ground.

Mahā-Gautama saw it with his heavenly eyes from his place in the depth of the mountain. Then by using his magical power (*rddhipada*) he came down flying through the sky and asked the Bodhisattva: "What sin have you committed, my child, so that you are suffering such torture? There is no boil (on your body) but you are still bearing the pain of the poison in this way." The Bodhisattva replied: "The pain is external but the mind within is full of mercy. I do not know what sin I have committed to be exposed suddenly to such torture." Mahā-Gautama said: "You have neither any son nor any disciple (lit. family). Who will be your descendant? Who is to bear such kind of pain patiently? The Bodhisattva answered: "Life is momentary. Why do you speak of sons and grandsons?"

At that time the king ordered his men on the left and the right to get a stone bow and arrow. On getting it the king shot at the Bodhisattva and killed him. Mahā-Gautama was much aggrieved and wept. He then took down the dead body and buried it. He collected blood from the mud both from the right side and the left and made them into balls. He then returned to his monastery in the mountain, put the blood taken from the left side in a vessel on the left side and that taken from the right side in a vessel

on the right. Then Maḥā-Gautama said: "If it is true that you were a great master of the law (tao-she) then the gods of the heavens should make a man of the blood." After ten months the blood on the left side became a man and that on the right side a woman. The first was called Shoyi jen.

[ II. ]

At the beginning of the Bhadrakalpa the Precious Tathāgata She-kia (Śākya) lived 5000000 years. The next twenty five kings each lived 3000000 years. Then the king Wen-t'o-kie (文陀竭) lived 1000000 years. Then the Kṣatriya Che-kia-yue (Cakravartī) kings and the kings of the left flank and those of the right flank all lived 100000 years each. Since the time of the king called Kuan-hi (Harṣa) all kings lived 84000 years each. Guided by a bad thought the Cakravartī (Che-kia-yue) king sacrificed an ox and for causing this harm to life lost his Golden Wheel, got the Silver Wheel and the mastery over the three heavens only. He lived only 10000 years. The king Firm-Thought (Dṛḍha-citta) used armour and lived 5000 years only. He got the Copper Wheel, ruled over two heavens and was the lord of the West and the South only. After that the king Easy-killing (Sukhaghna) lived 2500 years, got the Iron Wheel and was the ruler of the Southern heaven only. The last king had five princes who by causing harm to living beings shortened their life to 1000 years. In old times there were only nine kinds of pains from disease, cold, heat, thirst, hunger, birth, old age, sickness and death. Since the Brahmins began to sacrifice living beings 404 kinds of diseases originated.

From the time of king Simhacitta man's life was reduced to 120 years. After king Simhacitta there were 84 kings beginning with Simhamati, all having short lives. In their times human life was gradually reduced to 80, 70, 50, 30, 20 and 10 years.

Afterwards there was a king called Simhajiva-ratha who was also called Śuddhodana (lit. Śuddha). He was the father of the Bodhisattva. From the beginning up to the end of the Bodhisattva's life it is 84000 years. The king Che-kia-yue (Cakravartī) was of the Gautama race. It was a pure and perfect race.

The Bodhisattva was in the T'eu-shu (Tuṣita) heaven. When he wished to descend on the earth he looked around to find out the country where he could take his birth. He said: "It is the family of king Śuddhodana where I can incarnate myself." There was then in the heaven a tree called T'eu-tan (Devadāru). The Bodhisattva however sat under a different tree and was absorbed in thought. The first tree then emitted a light which knew no change. At that time a heavenly being asked: "Why did the Bodhisattva give up the first tree and come to sit under the other tree?" A devaputra understood the mind of the Bodhisattva. He replied: "Do you not know? The Bodhisattva now wishes to go down to the Yen-feu-li (Jambudvīpa) and is looking around to see in which kingdom he would take birth. He will be born in the family of Śuddhodana."

All the Gods then said: "The Bodhisattva is now going down to take birth on the earth. What shall we offer him?" They then thought over it and said: "In the bright heaven there are 404 and sundry other gems, each of them having a (separate) name. There are also precious flowers. A chariot can be made for him with them." The White Elephant named Yi-lo-man (Airāvata), the Nāga king, will draw it. His hairs are whiter than the snowy mountains. He has 33 heads. Each head has 7 trunks, each of which contains a lake. In each lake there are 7 Yu-po (utpala) flowers. Upon each flower there is a beautiful girl."

The Bodhisattva came down riding on the precious chariot along with 84000 devaputras. The car was drawn by the White Elephant. At that time the queen of king Śuddhodana had the dream of a white elephant. She was taken by fright and spoke about it to the king.

## [ III. ]

The father of the Bodhisattva was called Śuddhodana. His father (and three uncles) were four brothers. King Śuddhodana had two sons.—the elder was Si-ta (Siddhārtha), the younger Nan-t'o (Nanda). The name of the Bodhisattva's mother was Mo-ye (Māyā). The name of Nanda's mother was Kiu-tan-mi (Gautamī). The eldest uncle of the Bodhisattva was Amṛtodana. The latter had two sons—the elder was named T'eu-ta (Devadatta) and the younger A-nan (Ānanda). The second (middle) uncle of the Bodhisattva was called king Śuklodana. He had two sons—the elder was called She Mo-na (Śākya Mahānāman) and the younger A-na-liu (Aniruddha). The name of the youngest uncle of the Bodhisattva was king Śukrodana. He had two sons, the elder was called She-kia wang (Śākyarāja?) and the younger She sha wang (?).

In the kingdom of Kia-wei-lo-yue (Kapilavastu) there were 8 cities and 900,000 houses. Devadatta was born on the 7th day of the 4th month. Buddha was born on the 8th day of the 4th month, Buddha's younger brother Nanda on the 9th day of the 4th month and Ānanda on the 10th day of the 4th month. The height of Devadatta's body was 15 ft. 4 inches that of Buddha's body 16 ft., that of Nanda's body 15 ft. 4 inches, that of Ānanda's body 15 ft. 3 inches and that of the body of persons belonging to the Sho-yi family 14 ft. The height of the body of other people in the country was 13 ft.

The relatives of the Bodhisattva lived 800 li outside the city. The Gautama clan was a small ruling clan ruling over 1000000 houses. They were also called kings of 100000 (lakṣapati). The family of the Bodhisattva's wife was also called Gautama. The chief of the Sho-yi family was Shuei-kuang (Jalaprabha). His wife's mother was named Yue-niu (Candrakumārī). She belonged to a city near the frontier. The time when the girl was born the sun had nearly set. But inside the house everything was bright. So the girl was given the name Kiu-yi (Gopī) which means

"Bright Girl" (Ming-niu). Gopī was the first wife of the Prince. Her father was the Elder Jalaprabha. The second wife of the Prince gave birth to Lo-yu (Rāhula). She was called Ye-wei-t'an (Yaśodharā). Her father was the Elder Ye-she (Yaśa). His third wife was Lu-yi (Mṛgajā). Her father was the Elder She (Śākya). So the Prince had three wives. His royal father had got built for him three palaces suitable for three seasons. There were 20000 dancing girls in each of the palaces. In the three palaces there were in all 60000 dancing girls. The Prince was to be a Che-kia-yue (Cakravartī) king and hence 60000 dancing girls were placed in his palace.

#### [ IV. ]

Buddha left the house in his 29th year. He attained the Bodhi (*tao*) in his 35th year. From the 8th day of the 4th month till the 15th day of the 7th month he remained seated under the tree. This was the first year.

In the second year he preached the law to A-jo-kiu (Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya) and his other friends in the Deer Park. He then explained the law to Pi-p'o-tan and others. He then preached the law to 17 men, Kia-che-lo and others. He also explained the law to the Elder Ta-tsai (Mahābala?), Eul-tsai-nien (Dvi-bala-citta?), Yiu-po-yi (Upaka) and Cheng-nien (Samyak-smṛti), the Ni-kien (Nirgrantha). Later on he spoke the law to 42 men including Ti-ho-kie-lo-fo (Dipaṃkara-Buddha).

In the third year he preached the law to three disciples of Kia-ye (Kāśyapa) and to a community of 1000 Bhikṣus,

In the fourth year he preached the law to the Nāgas, Pretas and demi-gods on the Siang-t'eu (Gajaśiṛṣa) mountain.

In the fifth year he preached the law to Sse-ho-mei in the Bamboo grove. In the fifth year while he was on his way to Sho-wei (Śrāvastī) the Brahmin She-li-fo (Śāriputra) was waiting under a tree with 125 disciples. At that time Mu-lien (Maudgalyāyana) who was a general in the country of

Mi-yi-lo (Mithilā ?) while passing by that way saw Śāriputra waiting under the tree. He asked Śāriputra why he was waiting there. Śāriputra replied: "I wish to learn the law (tao)." Maudgalyāyana replied: "I shall be also your companion." So saying he sent away 100 soldiers. Only 125 remained with him. Thus the two had with them altogether 250 men.

While Śāriputra was entering the city for fen-wei (piṇḍa-pāta) he met with a disciple of Buddha, the Bhikṣu Ma-she (Aśvajit). Śāriputra enquired from him who was his religious teacher, as his dress was not the same (as his). The Bhikṣu Aśvajit replied: "I am the disciple of Buddha." Śāriputra asked: "What law does Buddha speak?" Aśvajit replied: "According to Buddha all dharma has a cause. (He also speaks on) its destruction, on the extinction of all pains and on nirvāṇa." When Śāriputra received from him the law of Siu-t'o-yuan (Śrōtāpanna) he felt very happy, came back to Maudgalyāyana and said: "There is a godly man in the world." Maudgalyāyana asked: "Who has spoken the law to you?" Śāriputra then gave him the whole account. Maudgalyāyana then wanted to get the law of Śrōtāpanna. The two men then went to Buddha with the disciple of Buddha.

Before they had come up to Buddha, Buddha came to know about it and told the Bhikṣus: "Two learned men are coming to-day, one is the Bhikṣu Che hui (Prajñāmati) and the other Shen-tsiu (Rddhipada)." When they arrived Buddha spoke to them on the four truths (ārya-satyāni). Śāriputra became an Arhat in 7 days while Maudgalyāyana became an Arhat in 15 days.

In the sixth year Siu-ta and Prince Che-t'o (Jeta) built for Buddha a Vihāra, 12 pagodas (Fo t'u sse), 72 halls, 3600 rooms and 500 towers.

In the 7th year in the country of Kiu-ye-ni (?) Buddha met with eight men, the Bodhisattva So-t'o-ho and others and communicated to them the *Pan cheu king*.

In the eighth year while staying on the mountain Liu he

made a disciple of the king Chen-t'o-lo (Candra) and spoke the law.

In the ninth year he spoke the law to T'o-kiu-mo inside the lake Wei.

In the tenth year he returned to the country of Mo-kie (Magadha) and spoke the law to king Fo-kia-sha.

In the tenth year under the fearful (Bhayamkara) tree he spoke on the past life to Mi-lei (Maitreya).

In the twelfth year while returning to his father's country he met the members of the Śākya family at a distance of 80 li from the city and spoke the law to Ch'a-mo-kie. On returning to his country he spoke the law to his father and members of the Śākya family and thus saved 84000 men. They got the law of Siu-t'o-yuan (Śrotāpanna).

The fourteen countries in which Buddha travelled for twelve years, converted people and spoke the law were the following:

The king Po-sse-jo.....in Chinese *ho yue*

Kia-wei-lo-yue in Chinese *miao to*

Sho-wei country in Chinese *wu wu pu yu*

Wei-ye-li country in Chinese *kuang ta*

another name is *tu sheng sse* (saving from birth and death)

Lo-yue-ki.....in Chinese the city of *wang she*.

Kiu-leu country.....in Chinese *che she* country.

Po-lo-nai country in Chinese *lu ye* -(Deer-Park)

—these are otherwise known as. "All Buddha countries."

## [ V. ]

In the Yen-feu-t'i (Jambudvīpa) there are sixteen large kingdoms and 84000 cities. There are eight kings and four devaputras. In the East there is the Devaputra of the Tsin (China). The people are prosperous there. In the South there is the Devaputra of the country of T'ien-chu (India). The land is much noted for its elephants. In the West there is the Devaputra of Ta-ts'in country (Roman

Orient). That country produces gold, silver, gems and jade. In the North-West there is the Devaputra of the Yue-che. Their country produces many good horses.

There are 84000 cities in the centre (of the Jambudvīpa), 6400 races of men; the trees are of 10000 varieties and grasses of 8000 kinds. Varieties of herbs are 740. The scents are of 43 kinds, gems of 121 kinds, and real gems of 7 kinds.

In the ocean there are 2500 kingdoms. In 180 kingdoms the people live on 5 cereals. In 330 kingdoms they eat fish, sweet tortoise, tortoise of the land and crocodile. There are five kings, each king governing 500 cities. The first king is that of Sse-li. All the people of that country worship Buddha. They do not worship any other god. The name of the second king is Kia-lo. His country produces seven jewels. The name of the third king is Pu-lo. His country produces 42 kinds of incense and white leu-li (vaidurya). The name of the fourth king is Sho-ye. His country produces pi-pa (pippala, and pepper). The name of the fifth king is Na-ngo. His country produces pearl and seven coloured leu-li (vaidurya). The people of these five great countries are black and short-statured. The distance between them is 65000 li. From these countries up to the end (of the Jambudvīpa) there lies the ocean and no people live there. From there up to the Iron Hills it is 140000 li.

\* \* \* \* \*

[The kingdom of Kiu-yi-na-kie (Kūśinagara) is 1000 li to the south-east of the kingdom of Kia-wei-lo (Kapilavastu). The kingdom of Wang sho (Rājagṛha) is 2200 li to the south-east of the kingdom of Kia-wei-lo-wei (Kapilavastu). The place where the Buddha discovered the path (Gayā) is 200 li to the south-east of the city of Wang sho (Rājagṛha). The kingdom of Wei-ye-li (Vaiśālī) is 1800 li to the east of Kia-(wei)-lo-wei (Kapilavastu). The garden of Āmrāpali is 3 li to the south of the town of Wei-ye-li (Vaiśālī), to the west of the high road. The kingdom of Ye-po (Campā?) is 1280 li to the east of the kingdom of

Kia-wei-lo-wei (Kapilavastu). The kingdom of Nan (Puṇḍra-vardhana) is 3200 li to the east of the kingdom of Kapilavastu. The kingdom of Sho-wei (Śrāvastī) is 500 li to the west of the kingdom of Kapilavastu. The kingdom of Po-lo-nai (Vārāṇasī) is 960 li to the west of the kingdom of Kapilavastu. The place where Buddha turned the wheel of the law (Deer Park) is 20 li to the south of the kingdom of Vārāṇasī. The kingdom of Po-lo-nai-sse (Vārāṇasī) is 1400 li to the south of the kingdom of Sho-wei (Śrāvastī). The river Heng (Gaṅgā) flows south-east through that country. The mount Ki-sho-kiu (Gṛdhrakūṭa) has five peaks. The place where Buddha recited the sacred texts is the central peak of the hill.]

*Note:* The last paragraph placed within square brackets is found in the quotation in the *King liu yi siang* to which we have already referred. The preceding paragraph is found in the *She eul yeu king* as well as in the said quotation of the *King liu yi siang*. There is some difference between the two texts in regard to this paragraph: instead of 330 the *King liu* has 2320, instead of "42 kinds of incense" the *King liu* gives "43 kinds ....." and for Na-ngo the *King liu* gives Na-p'o.

The five geographical names Sse-li, Kia-lo, Sho-ye and Na-ngo (var. Na-p'o) have been commented on by Prof. Lévi (*Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 83). He refers to the *Fan fan yu*, a Chinese compilation of the 6th century, in which these names have been explained after a Sūtra which is now lost. According to it Kia-lo means black (Kāla), Pu-lo, "city" (Pura) and Sho-ye, "victory" (Jaya). Of these Prof. Lévi has suggested a definite identification only for one—Sho-ye. He would identify it with Java. But the translation of the name as "victory" (Jaya) suggests a connection of the name not with Java but with Śrīvijaya. In fact M. Ferrand has proposed this identification (*L'Empire Sumatrainais de Srivijaya*, tirage, p. 154). The only difficulty in accepting it lies in the fact that there is no other record to

prove the existence of the name as early as the 3rd century A.D. when the *She eul yeu king* was translated for the first time. Whatever may be the definite identification it is quite clear that Sho-ye must be located in the Java-Sumatra group. Amongst the other names Sse-li \*Sic-lji is certainly an old transcription of a name like *Siha-dīp* (Sinhala-dvīpa). This value of *li* is also found in Yen-feu-li (Jambudvīpa). The explanation of the two names Kia-lo and Pu-lo in the *Fan fan yu* as "black" (Kāla) and "city" (pura) seems to be fanciful. Kia-lo, on the contrary, reminds us of later Kia-lo-hi (Grahi). Pu-lo restored as Pura would be meaningless as the name of an island. It may be the Indonesian word *Pulo-Pulau* which means 'island' and is used with names of different islands (cf. Pulo Condore, Pulo Penang etc.). Na-ngo seems to be the correct name and not Na-p'o. It may be restored as Nagna—the island of the naked people. Such a name is given by Yi-ting to the Nicobar Isles (*Records*, p. 68).

#### THE CHINESE INDEX

In the following index I have given the transcription of the important names. I have also stated the old pronunciation of the characters according to the *Analytical Dictionary* of Karlgren. This Dictionary as is well known gives the pronunciation of about the 6th century A.D. Through it we can get an idea of the pronunciation of a still earlier periods. The transcriptions contained in the *She eul yeu king* belong to the 4th century A.D.

In the index some of the common characters which occur too often such as t'o 陀, lo 羅, kie 竭 and mo 摩 have been indicated by the numbers [1] [2] [3] and [4] respectively.

A-jo-kiu 阿若拘 \*â-nziak-kiu = Ājñāna-Kauṇḍinya

A-na-liu—那律 \*â-nâ-liuŏt = Aniruddha

A-nan—難 \*â-nân = Ānanda

Ch'a-mo-kie 差 [4] [3] \*t's'a-muâ-g'iat = Sumāgadhā(?)

Che-kia-yue 遮迦越 \*t'sia-ka-ji<sup>w</sup>et = Cakravartī

- Che-t'o 祇 [1] \*t'sie-dâ = Jeta  
 Chen-t'o-lo 眞 [1] [2] \*t'sien-d'â-lâ = Candra  
 Fo-kia-sha 弗迦沙 \*piuet-ka-ša = Pukkusa  
 Kia-cha-lo—者 [2] \*ka-t'sia-lâ  
 Kia-lo [2] \*ka-lâ = Kāla (?Grāhi)  
 Kia-wei-lo-yue—惟 [2] 閱 \*ka-wi-lâ-i'wāt = Kapilavastu  
 Kia-ye—葉 \*ka-iāp = Kāśyapa  
 Kiu-t'an-mi 曇彌 \*kiu-d'an-mjie = Gautamī  
 Kiu-yi—夷 \*kiu-i = Gopī  
 Kiu-ye-ni 拘耶尼 \*Kiu-(z)ia-nji = Kuśinagara  
 Kiu-lin 鳩留 \*kieu-liou = Kuru  
 Liu 柳 \*lieu?  
 Lo-yue-k'i- [2] 閱祇 \*lâ-i'wāt-g'jie = \*Rāyagiha < Rājagṛha  
 Lo-yu [2] 云 \*lâ-giuen < Lāghula? < Rāhula  
 Mi yi-lo 彌夷 [2] \*mjie-i-lâ = Mithilā?  
 Mi-lei—勒 \*mjie-lək = Maitrak? = Maitreya  
 Mo-kie [4] [3] \*muā-giāt = Magadha  
 Mu-lien 目連 \*miuk-liān = Mogallāna < Maudgalyāyana  
 Na-ngo 那額 \*nâ-ngək = Nagna  
 Nan-t'o 難 [1] \*nân-dâ = Nanda  
 Pi-p'o-tan 畢婆耽 piēt-b'uâ-tām?  
 Po-sse-jo 波斯匿 \*puâ-sie-niək = Pasanna = Pasenādi  
 Pu-lo 不 [2] \*piou-lâ = Pulo?  
 Si-ta 悉達 \*siet-d'ât = Siddhattha = Siddhārtha  
 Siu-t'a 須— \*siu-d'ât = Sudatta  
 Siu-t'o-yuan— [1] 亘 \*siu-d'â-yuân = Sotapanna = Srota-panna  
 So-t'o-ho 娑 [1] 和 \*sâ-d'â-yuā?  
 Ssse-li 斯利 \*sie-lji = Sihadīa = Sīmha-dvīpa  
 Sse-ho-mei 私呵味 \*si-xâ-mj'ei?  
 She-mo-na 釋 [4] 納 \*šiak-muâ nuâi = Sākyamuni  
 Sho-yi 舍夷 \*sia-i = Śāgya < Śākya  
 Sho-wei—衛 \*sia'-ji'wai = Sāvai = Sāvatti < Srāvasti  
 Sho-ye 闍耶 \*sia-ia = Jaya  
 T'eu-ta 調達 d'ieu-d'ât = Devadatta  
 T'eu-shu 兜術 \*tək-d'z'iuēt = Tuṣita  
 Ti-ho-kie-lo 提和 [3] [2] \*die-yuā-g'iat-lâ = Dipamkara

To-kiu-mo [2] 囉 [4] \*d'e-k'iuət.muâ?

Wei-ye-li 維耶離 \*wei-(z)ia-ljie=Vaiśālī(?)

Wei 威 i<sup>w</sup>ei(-d), mistake for an-i<sup>w</sup>ei (-d)?=anotatta

Wen-t'o-kie 文 [1] [3]\*.miuən-d'â-g'ia̯t

Yen-feu-li 閻浮利 \*iām-p'iu-lji, (- - die)=

Jambudvīpa

Yi-lo-man,伊 [2] 慢 i-lâ-man=:Airāvāṇa

Ye-wei-t'an 耶惟檀 ia-wi-d'ân=Yaśodharā

Ye-she 移施 \*ie-.śie=Yaśa

Yiu-po-yi 憂波夷 \*ieu-puâ-,i=Upagā<Upaka?

## The Rise of Sukhodaya

BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

The origin of the Thai Kingdom of Sukhodaya is involved in obscurity. Some light is thrown on this by an inscription found at Sukhodaya. The relevant passage is, however, very mutilated, and does not make any complete sense. Coedès, who first brought out its historical importance, has drawn some conclusions which are now generally accepted. It appears that a Kambuja general was sent against two Thai chiefs named Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao and Phō Khun Phā Muang, chief of Muang Rāt. The former had taken possession of Sajjanālaya and the latter with his army came to his aid. The Kambuja army which occupied Sukhodaya, or at least barred access to it, was defeated and the victorious Thai Chief Phō Khun Phā Muang then entered Sukhodaya and entrusted its government to Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao. The latter, however, we are told, could not enter the city out of respect (or fear, it is not clear which) for his ally. So the former removed his army, and when Bāng Klāng Thao entered Sukhodaya, formally consecrated him to the throne of Sukhodaya under the name of Śrī Indrapatīndrāditya with the title Kamraten Añ Phā Muang, which had been conferred on him by the king of Kambuja. The passage of the inscription which relates this, although somewhat cryptic, seems to convey that Phō Khun Phā Muang, who had married the daughter of the king of Kambuja, was a vassal chief and had received from him formal investiture as such. By his defeat of the "audacious Khom" i.e., the Kambuja general sent to oppose him, and triumphal entry into Sukhodaya, Phā Muang regarded himself as the suzerain, and conferred, in his turn, on his ally, the position and titles he had himself received from the suzerain king of Kambuja. Thus we may trace in this incident the virtual liberation of N. Siam from the yoke of Kambuja. But the old linkswere not altogether broken, for the old Kambuja titles were borne by the new king and his successors.

Interest naturally centres around Phō Khun Phā Muang who was thus instrumental in liberating Siam from Kambuja suzerainty. Coedès, who brought out the above facts, has not, unfortunately, pursued this question any further, but there are certain points of great interest which merit a fuller discussion. According to the inscription, Phā Muang had married the daughter of the king of Kambuja, and obtained the sacred sword, the honorific title named Śrī Indrapatīndrāditya and a formal investiture from him. All these point to his identity with king Śrīndravarman of Kambuja, who had married the daughter of king Jayavarman VIII of Kambuja. Now Cheu Ta-Kuan, who accompanied the Chinese embassy to the court of Śrīndravarman in 1296 A.D. gives us the following account of this king "The new king is the son-in-law of the old. He had adopted a military career. His father-in-law loved his daughter who stole the golden sword (of the king) and took it to her husband. The son, thus deprived of succession, plotted to raise an army. The new king came to know of it, cut off the fingers of his feet and shut him up in a dark chamber."<sup>2</sup> The

2 The text of the Ins. may be literally translated as follows: "Formerly the divine king of Śrī Sodharapura had given to Phō Khun Phā Muang his daughter named Nang Sikharamahādevī, the sacred sword Jayaśrī and an honorific title like his own. Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao received the name Śrī Indrapatīndrāditya because Phō Khun Phā Muang took his own name for giving it, in his turn, to his friend." Coedès has pointed out that in modern Siamese and Cambodian documents Śrī Sodharapura appears as an element in the literary designation of the capital of Cambodia (*BEFEO.*, XIII. VI. p. 9; XVIII, 9, p. 24). Coedès formerly restored the name as Sirīdhara or Siri Sundara (*Ibid.*). But he now (*JA.*, 1920, p. 241) proposes to take it as a corruption of Yaśodharapura, the name of the old Kambuja capital, because he finds in a modern Cambodian state paper the name of the capital written as "Kambujādhīpati Śrī Yaśodhara brah Mahā-nagara Indraprastha Rastha rājadhānī."

3 *BEFEO.*, Vol. II, p. 176.

account of Cheu Ta-Kuan is partly corroborated by a Kambuja inscription which says that Jayavarman VIII abdicated the throne in favour of his son-in-law.<sup>4</sup> According to the custom followed in Kambuja the prince who was consecrated as heir-apparent with the title Śrī Indrapati or Indrāditya would be called Śrīndravarman on accession to the throne.<sup>4a</sup> Thus we have a remarkable coincidence, both in name and the three special circumstances (marriage of the king's daughter and the possession of the sword, indicating investiture as heir-apparent) between the Kambuja king Śrīndravarman and the chief Phā Muang. Besides, the fact that this chief, although son-in-law of the Kambuja king, was opposed by an "audacious Kambuja general" would be explained by the rivalry between Śrīndravarman of Kambuja and his brother-in-law referred to by Cheu Ta-Kuan. Such coincidences cannot be dismissed as casual and we are justified in presuming the identity of the two. In that case we must hold that prince Śrīndravarman was invested as regent or Viceroy over Siam during the reign of his father-in-law, and in the struggle for succession with his brother-in-law, which took place during the reign of the old king, he had the assistance of the Thai chief whose services he rewarded by his appointment as vassal chief of Sukhodaya, nominally under his suzerainty. It was probably not long before the chief of Sukhodaya became too powerful and challenged the authority of Kambuja, and the 'recent wars with the Siamese which devastated the Angkor region' as reported by Cheu Ta-Kuan might refer to the civil war or to the later stages of this war for liberation. In any case we are justified in presuming that the rise of Sukhodaya as an independent kingdom was probably due to the civil war between Śrīndravarman, the son-in-law of the king of Kambuja, and his brother-in-law.

4 Mangalārtha Temple Ins., V. XLI, *BEFEO.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 393 ff.

4a *BEFEO.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 100.

If this presumption be accepted we have to refer the accession of Indrāditya to the reign of Jayavarman VIII who ascended the throne in 1243 A.D. or somewhat later. This is in conflict with the current view that Indrāditya founded the kingdom of Sukhodaya in 1218 A.D. This view, however, rests upon a highly speculative interpretation of a passage in the Nagara Jum Ins. by P. Petithuguenin.<sup>5</sup> He translates ll. 19-21 of the Ins. as follows: "The year in which Phrayā Mahā Dharmarāja constructed (or commenced) the Phra Dhātu, the age of men was lowered below 100 years. That was 139 years ago, and the year of the reduction is really the year of Hare." He then observes: "If this phrase has any sense it appears to convey that 139 years before 1279 i.e., in 1140 Śaka (=1218), which was really a year of Hare,<sup>6</sup> under a king named Phrayā Mahā Dharmarāja an important social revolution took place, which could well be, as already remarked by Lajonquiere, the date of accession of the first king of Sukhodaya. It is not then Śrī Sūrya Phrah Mahā Dharmarājādhirāja who reigned from 1276 to 1298 Śaka, but one of his predecessors more than a century ago, who is the Phrah or Bā Thammarat of the tradition and who could not be any other than Indrāditya."

It is needless to point out that the above theory about the accession of Indrāditya in 1218 A.D. rests on a very weak basis and cannot be taken seriously. The earliest definite date in the chronology of Sukhodaya is furnished by the Inscription of Rama Khamheng,<sup>7</sup> according to which this king, who was the third son of Indrāditya, and the third king of the dynasty, was on the throne between 1283 and 1292 A.D. This would place the accession of Indrāditya some time about the middle of the third century A.D. Now the Pali chronicle *Jināḥālamālini* places the accession of Phra Ruang the founder of the dynasty

<sup>5</sup> BEFEO., Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> This is not correct. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> JSS., Vol. VI, Part I.

in 1256 A.D. Prince Damrong has suggested the identification of Phra Ruang and Indrāditya and Cœdès also favours the same view.<sup>8</sup> We may, therefore, provisionally, accept 1256 A.D. as the date of accession of Indrāditya, though we shall not be justified in regarding it as an established fact.

If we accept this date for Indrāditya, and identify the chief Phā Muang with the future king of Kambuja named Indravarman we have to reconstruct the political history of the period somewhat differently than is done at present. It would appear that either the struggle referred to in the Sukhodaya Inscription must have taken place long after the accession of Indrāditya or that the civil war in Kambuja between the son and son-in-law of Jayavarman VIII must have commenced at an early part of the reign of that king. Both these views being opposed to the current ideas on the subject, they may be examined a little more closely.

It is generally assumed that Indrāditya began his political career as chief of Sukhodaya. This, however, is not borne out by any positive evidence. On the other hand the Sukhodaya Inscription referred to above shows that he was already the chief of the principality of Sajjanālaya when he joined Phā Muang. Instances are not wanting when a petty chief, who later becomes ruler of an important kingdom, dates his accession from his first coming to power. We may thus regard 1256 A.D. (or any other date that may be accepted on more positive evidence) as the date when Indrāditya first became a ruling chief and not necessarily that of his conquest of Sukhodaya.

The perusal of the first part of Rama Khamheng's Inscription leaves the impression that Sukhodaya was not a very important kingdom during the time of his father and elder brother who preceded him, and its greatness and importance really date from his time. We cannot rule out altogether the possibility that Indrapatindrāditya who was formally consecrated at Sukhodaya by the son-in-law of

the Kambuja king after the defeat of the Kambuja general was no other than Rāma Khamheng himself, the name Indrapatīndrāditya being composed of the name of his benefactor (Indrabhūpati) and his own grandfather Indrāditya. This is undoubtedly a mere hypothesis for the present, but we cannot discard it simply because it does not tally with the current views on the subject which are, however, not based on any solid ground.

Rāma Khamheng claims in his Inscription to have made extensive conquests, and occupied territories belonging to Kambuja. CheuTa-Kuan, writing of Kambuja in 1296 or 97 A.D. refers to the devastation of the country in the recent wars with Siam. The Sukhodaya Inscription refers to a fight between Kambuja general and the son-in-law of the Kambuja king allied with a Thai Chief of Siam. All these may refer to the different episodes in the struggle between the son and son-in-law of the Kambuja king Jayavarman VIII. This civil war then must have taken place sometime before the end of the reign of this king in 1295 or 1296 A.D. This seems to follow from the statement in the Mangalārtha Temple Inscription that Jayavarman VIII abdicated in favour of his son-in-law. But although this may be justly regarded as a very weak argument against the obvious inference from CheuTa-Kuan's statement, quoted above, it is to be noted that we cannot reject the idea of a civil war taking place long before the end of Jayavarman's reign without upsetting some of the generally accepted views of historical events. For apart from all speculative theories on the identification of Phā Muang, the broad fact remains that he, a son-in-law of the ruling king of Kambuja, fought with a Kambuja general near Sukhodaya. Although this cannot be precisely dated it could hardly have taken place in 1295 or 1296 A.D. when king Rāma Khamheng must have, according to the generally accepted view

9 The Mangalārtha Temple Ins. refers to Śrīndravarman as Śrīndra-bhūpati (V. XLI) and Śrīndrabhūpa (XLVIII).

based on Sukhodaya Inscription, thoroughly established his power over Sukhodaya and an extensive region round it, and we can hardly think of a Kambuja prince defeating a Kambuja general and consecrating an allied chief as ruler over Sukhodaya.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand it is difficult to explain away the incident by referring it to the reign of any other king of Kambuja. For, as we have seen above there are no reasonable grounds to place the foundation of Sukhodaya by Indrāditya before 1243 A.D. when Jayavarman VIII ascended the throne, and the fight between the Kambuja general and the son-in-law of Kambuja king, referred to in the Sukhodaya Inscription, can only refer to a civil war in his reign.

In case our theory is right that this struggle was caused by the rivalry between Śrīndravarman and his brother-in-law over the succession to the throne, we can hardly place it long before 1275 A.D., and possibly the date is later. For in the Bantei Srei Inscription of Śrīndravarman the earth is congratulated on its deliverance, by a young king, from the thorns and brambles which had grown up during the reign of an old king.<sup>11</sup> This shows that Śrīndravarman was a young man when he ascended the throne in 1295 or 1296 A.D. It is hardly likely therefore that he would have been old enough to contest the throne long before c. 1275 A.D.

The reference to the thorns and brambles during the reign of the old king Jayavarman VIII probably reflects the true condition of things, and in the light of what has been suggested above we may provisionally reconstruct the history of the period as follows:—

Jayavarman VIII, in his old age, nominated Śrīndravarman, his son-in-law, as his successor and appointed him

<sup>10</sup> Of course we can explain this on the basis of the theory advanced in this paper if we identify Bāng Klāng Thao with Ram Khamheng.

<sup>11</sup> BEFEO., Vol. XXV, p. 395.

as governor over western provinces including Siam. His son thereupon took up arms to defend his right. Thus ensued a civil war in course of which battles were fought in Siam. The conquest of the Thai Kingdom of Nan Chao by Kublai Khan led to a movement of the warlike Thais towards the south, and Śrīndravarman enlisted their support by offering large rewards and concessions. In particular, he won over a Thai Chief (either Indrāditya or Rama Khamheng) by consecrating him as king of Sukhodaya and offering him virtual independence and suzerainty over Siam. With their help he defeated his brother-in-law and imprisoned him, but did not ascend the throne till some years later when the old king abdicated in his favour. The palace-intrigues and the general insecurity of the times are indicated by the fact that Śrīndravarman, even after he became king, seldom ventured to come out in public and was clad, on those rare occasions, by an iron coat of mail, to guard himself from assassins. The civil war led to political troubles at home and abroad, but its most important effect was the foundation of a strong Thai kingdom in Siam with its capital at Sukhodaya.

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## The date of accession of Jayavarman II

BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

The accession of Jayavarman II, the king of Kambuja, in 724 Śaka (=802 A.D.) was regarded as a fixed point in Kambuja chronology till Coédès propounded a new theory in 1928. He discussed the question in connection with an inscription in the temple of Lobok Srot which was issued in 703 Śaka during the reign of a king Jayavarman, and observed as follows: "When I first edited the inscription (*BEFEO.*, V, p. 419) Jayavarman II was believed to have reigned till 791 Ś. and it was therefore impossible to attribute this inscription to him without assigning him a reign of 90 years and a longevity of at least 110 years; and I provisionally numbered this king as Jayavarman I (*bis*). But since according to the new chronology I have established at the beginning of this note, Jayavarman II died in 776 Ś. it is not at all impossible that it was he who had founded the temple of Lobok Srot, perhaps immediately after his return from Java and at the beginning of his reign at Indrapur. But this is merely a hypothesis to which I draw attention in passing. If it comes to be verified, it will furnish a valuable chronological data and prove that Jayavarman II returned from Java before 781 A.D."<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the prevalent opinion about the date of Jayavarman's accession he remarks elsewhere in the same article that the reign of Jayavarman II did not really commence in 724 Ś. as is generally held, but that date marks the foundation of his capital on Mt. Mahendra.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the great scholarship of M. Coédès and his unrivalled knowledge of Kambuja history, any hypothesis

<sup>1</sup> *BEFEO.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

propounded by him is likely to meet general acceptance. This alone can explain the readiness with which some scholars have accepted the new theory without any further examination. For there seems to be hardly any valid ground—and none has been urged by Coedès—for taking 724 Ś. as the date of the foundation of the capital on Mahendraparvata. Following the usual tradition in Kambuja epigraphy, the authors of several inscriptions have referred to the date of commencement of Jayavarman's reign, and no reason has been shown why that date should be associated with a particular incident in the reign of Jayavarman II, and not regarded, as in all other cases, as the date of his accession. It is true that the reference to Mahendraparvata is found in some of these verses, as for example.

“Āsīd = āvāridher = uruvīm vahan = ved-ārdha-  
bhūdharaiḥ |  
Rājā Śrī-Jayavarmma = eti Mahendra-ādri-  
kṛt-āspadaḥ ||<sup>3</sup>

Here the expression Mahendrādri° is a qualifying epithet of the king and it would be a far-fetched interpretation to regard it as qualifying the date. But fortunately there are verses in several other records which clearly refer the accession of Jayavarman II to 724 Ś. without any reference whatsoever to his capital on Mahendraparvata.<sup>4</sup> The most interesting evidence about the correct interpretation of this verse is, however, furnished by Prea Kev Ins.<sup>5</sup> It

3 Prasat Trapan Run Ins., V. XIV; *Ibid.*, p. 63.

4 Cf. e.g., the following:—

(a) Āsīd bhūpo mahāvamaśo Veda-yugm-ādri-rājya-bhāk |  
Nāmnā Śrī Jayavarmma yaḥ khyāto bhūmau manur =  
yyathā ||

(Prasat Kak Po Ins., V. IV, *BEFEO.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 389.

(b) (catu)r-bhuja-ācalorvī-(dh)ṛc = catur-bh(u)ja iv = āpara(h) |  
(Phnom Prah Vihear Ins., V. A. 4, *ISCC.*, p. 533).

5 VV. A. 10. B. 2. *ISCC.*, pp. 104, 106.

contains two verses denoting the commencement of the reigns of two kings of Kambuja which run as follows :

- (a) "Āsīd = Śrī-Sūryavarman = eti Veda-dvi-bila-  
rājya-bhāk |
- (b) Āsīd-Kamvaja-rājendro Veda-dvi-naga-  
rājya-bhāk ||

The similarity of the two expressions, in the same inscription, leaves no doubt that in both cases the date was meant to be that of the accession of the king. There is no doubt that the second verse quoted above refers to Jayavarman II and as such we must regard 724 as the date of his accession.

So, the significance of the date 724 is clear. As regards Coedès' theory that the king Jayavarman of Lobok Srot Ins., dated 703 Ś., was identical with Jayavarman II, it has been demolished, as Coedès was the first to admit<sup>6</sup>, by the discovery of another inscription, dated 692 Śaka (=770 A.D.), at Prah That Prah Srei, of the reign of Jayavarman. For it is now more reasonable to identify the two kings mentioned in these records, and obviously he cannot be identified with Jayavarman II whose reign in that case would cover the period 770-854 A.D.

There is thus no reason whatsoever to disregard the clear statement in the epigraphic records that Jayavarman II came to the throne in 724 Śaka (=802 A.D.). It appears that Coedès himself never definitely abandoned this old view in favour of his new hypothesis, for even long after it was propounded he gave the date of Jayavarman II as 802-854 A.D.<sup>7</sup> And so does Parmentier.<sup>8</sup> But unfortunately other scholars were less cautious and accepted Coedès' theory as a settled fact. Thus Dr. B. R. Chatterji<sup>9</sup>,

6 BEFEO., Vol. XXXVI, p. 10, fn. 9.

7 BEFEO., Vol. XXXIV, p. 421.

8 Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 65.

9 JGIS., Vol. VI, pp. 144-145. On p. 144 Dr. Chatterji places the reign of Jayavarman II from "latter part of the 9th century to

P. Stern<sup>10</sup> and P. Dupont<sup>11</sup> have accepted 724 Ś. as the date of the foundation of Mahendraparvata, and placed the accession of Jayavarman II towards the end of the eighth century A.D. even long after Dr. Coëdès, who originally propounded these views, had given them up. In any case the accession of Jayavarman II must be placed in 802 A.D.

854 A.D." 9th is obviously a misprint for 8th. He fully accepts Coëdès' theory on p. 145 (last three lines).

<sup>10</sup> BEFEO., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 614, 616; Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 111, 175, 179.

<sup>11</sup> Dupont sometimes gives 802 A.D. as the date of accession (BEFEO., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 416, 630) but sometimes takes it as the date of the institution of the Devarāja cult (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 429).

**Progress of Greater Indian Research during  
the last twenty-five years (1917-42)  
—A Supplement\***

**Preface**

From early times a shallow generalization has often drawn the picture of India as standing aloof from the currents of the world's history. This view seems to find its support in the remarkable physical features of the land and not less, in the unique type of its civilization. With its frontiers girt round by impassable mountains and forests as well as the circling seas, nature herself appears to have doomed India to a life of splendid isolation. India's remarkable institution of caste as well as its distinctive systems of religion and philosophy would seem further to have formed an insurmountable barrier between its people and those of the outside world. And yet at the present moment it is but a historical truism to assert that never in all the centuries of its past existence our country has ceased to maintain active contact by land as well as by sea with countries and peoples beyond its frontiers. This contact, it must further be noted, was not confined to the exchange of material goods, but extended also to the domain of ideas.

In this grand and ceaseless process of contact with neighbouring lands, India's role has not been that of a mere passive recipient. More and more the unimpeachable evidence of history is proving the profound influence exercised by her all-pervasive culture upon outside lands, specially those of South-Eastern and Eastern Asia. Thus Sir John Marshall, who cannot certainly be accused of exaggerating Indian influence, after referring in a recent pronouncement to 'the amazingly vital and flexible character of Indian Art' and the common capacity of Indian and

\* Continued from *JGIS.*, Vol. IX, No. 2, p. 141.

Greek Art 'to adapt themselves to suit the needs of every country, race and religion with which they came into contact', writes as follows:—"To know Indian Art in India alone, is to know but half its story. To apprehend it to the full, we must follow it in the wake of Buddhism, to Central Asia, China and Japan; we must watch it assuming new forms and breaking into new beauties as it spreads over Tibet and Burma and Siam; we must gaze in awe at the unexampled grandeur of its creations in Cambodia and Java. In each of these countries, Indian Art encounters a different racial genius, a different local environment, and under their modifying influence it takes on a different garb". (Foreword to Reginald Le May, *Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938). What is true of art, is true of other branches of civilization as well. As a brilliant French writer has recently observed:—"In the high plateau of Eastern Iran, in the oases of Serindia, in the arid wastes of Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria, in the ancient civilised lands of China and Japan, in the lands of the primitive Mons and Khmers and other tribes in Indo-China, in the countries of the Malayo-Polynesians, in Indonesia and Malay, India left the indelible impress of her high culture not only upon religion, but also upon art and literature, in a word, all the higher things of the spirit' (Réné Grousset, *The Civilisations of the East*, vol. II, p. 276). Out of this amazing expansion of India's unique culture there rose and flourished in the first millennium of the Christian era, to quote the authoritative words of the French author just-mentioned, 'a Greater India politically as little organised as Greater Greece, but morally equally homogeneous'. But as Greater India has excelled in extent and duration its Greek counterpart, so much has the recovery of its lost history cost greater scholarly effort and enterprise. This process of rediscovery of Greater India, slow and fitful at the beginning, has taken larger and larger strides with the march of time. In the following pages an attempt is made to trace the extraordinary advance which Greater Indian

research has achieved during the last quarter of a century. This achievement, it will be seen, has been largely secured by the organization of expedition and research under the auspices of the various advanced Governments of the modern world. Next to the Governments, the learned Societies of various lands have co-operated in unearthing and interpreting the records of the past history of Greater India.

The cumulative labours of a host of explorers, archaeologists, art-critics and historians of various lands, gathering in momentum during the last quarter of a century, have added a new and glorious chapter to the history of our country. In the teeth of blind ignorance and narrow prejudice, they have definitely established India's claim to rank among the great civilising nations of the world. To quote the pertinent remarks of Sir Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. xii):—'Scant justice is done to India's position in the world by those histories which recount the exploits of her invaders and leave the impression that her own people were a feeble dreamy folk, sundered from the rest of mankind by their sea and mountain frontiers. Such a picture takes no account of the intellectual conquests of the Hindus. Even their political conquests were not contemptible and are remarkable for the distance, if not the extent, of the territories occupied.....But such military or commercial invasions are insignificant compared with the spread of Indian thought.' As the eminent French savant Sylvain Lévi writes (*Abel Bergaigne et l'Indianisme in Revue Blue*, tome 45, 1890, tr. by Kalidas Nag in *Modern Review*, Dec. 1921):—'From Persia to the Chinese Sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her tales and her civilization. She has left indelible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her place amongst the great

nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity.' How the discovery of this grand truth is reacting in the minds of India's greatest sons is best expressed in the pregnant words of Rabindranath Tagore (*Foreword to JGIS.*, vol. I, No. 1, January 1934):—"To know my country in truth one has to travel to that age, when she realised her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illumined the Eastern horizon, making her recognised as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a surprise of life ; and not now when she has withdrawn herself within a narrow barrier of obscurity, into a miserly pride of exclusiveness, into a poverty of mind that dumbly revolves around itself in an unmeaning repetition of a part that has lost its light and has no message to the pilgrims of the future." It is to be earnestly hoped that the amazingly rich record of progress in the rediscovery of Greater India, that is revealed in these pages, will usher in a period of active research carried out by her own sons in a field they have sadly neglected so far.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 1. last line: After 'archaeologists' add:

'At the site of Balkh, 'Mother of Cities' and capital of ancient Bactria, A. Foucher carried out (1923-25) a number of prolonged excavations, of which a detailed report is expected to be published in Tome I of the *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan*. Foucher's general conclusions are summed up in his short work *Étude sur l'art bouddhique de l'Inde* (Maison franco-japonaise, Tokyo)'.

P. 3. line 22: After 'Sarvāstivādins' add:

'About this time J. Hackin published a summary of explorations of the School in French under the title *The Work of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan* (1922-32), Paris, 1933'.

P. 4. line 14: After 'January and July 1940' add:

'In 1936 chance excavations brought to light at Kunduz seven stucco heads (being the first Buddhist sculptures found so far to the north of the Hindu-kush) as well as the remains of a Buddhist apsidal monastery. The stucco fragments have been dated on stylistic grounds between the first century B.C. and the first century A. D. by J. Hackin (*L'art Greco-bouddhique de la Bactriane*, Kabul, 1937). In the summer of 1938 a British expedition led by Evert Barger excavated a number of sites in the Swat Valley and carried out an archaeological reconnaissance in Northern Afghanistan. The detailed report of the expedition has been published under the title *Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus territories of Afghanistan* by Evert Barger and Philip Wright (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 64, Delhi, 1941)'.

'In his work *The Wall-paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon. A Comparative Study: With an Introductory Essay on the Nature of Buddhist Art* by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Boston 1938 the author has characterized the paintings in the vault of the 115-foot Buddha niche at Bamiyan as belonging to the Sassanian style. By contrast the niche of the other colossal Buddha and its groups of smaller caves display the Indian style. The decorative scheme in the vault, according to the same author, was a gigantic Buddha now effaced, surrounded by a host of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Apsarases'.

P. 6. line 25: After 'ancient city' add:

'which show the Hellenistic Gandhāra art to be yielding to Sassanian and East Indian influences'

P. 6. line 32: For 'three' read 'five'.

P. 7. line 23: After 'forth' add:

'From Karakhoto (The Black city) forming part of the ancient Tangut (Hsi-hsia) kingdom Stein acquired a mass of wooden sculptures illustrating Jātaka scenes as well as figures of enthroned Buddhas, of Buddhist scenes and of Brahmanical deities mounted upon their *Vāhanas*.'

P. 8. line 11: After 'Indian script' add:

'The results of Hackin's explorations on the site of Bazaklik already visited by Grünwedel were recorded in his work *Recherches archéologiques en Asie centrale* (Paris, 1931) where he mentioned Buddhist sanctuaries with *maṇḍalas* or apparitions of Tāntrik divinities'.

P. 10. line 12: After 'Buddhist Paradise' add:

'The Japanese scholar Eiichi Matsumoto identified (*Buḱkyo Bijutsu*, No. 19, Tokyo, 1933) a number of such paintings from the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* as representing the defeat of the Brahman Raudrākṣa by Śāriputra in a contest of supernatural

powers, while another painting from Tun-huang was identified by him (*Kokka*, No. 515, Tokyo, 1933) as referring to the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. A number of mural or silk paintings from Tun-huang and Turfan representing the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidurya-prabhāsa was afterwards identified and explained by the same scholar (*Kokka*, No. 523, 1934). The mural and other Buddhist paintings as well as the Buddhist images from the *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* have since been thoroughly examined by him in a Japanese work bearing the title *Studies in the Paintings of Tun-huang*, 2 vols., Tokyo 1937(?)

P. 12. line 11: *For Keinere read Kleinere.*

P. 12. line 26: *After 'Central Asian Sanskrit canon' add:*

'Mention may be made in this connection of Helmuth Hoffmann's edition of the fragments of the *Āṭānāṭīka Sūtra* from the Central Asian Sanskrit Canon in the same series, *Kleinere Sanskrit Texte*, heft v, Leipzig 1939'.

P. 13. line 26: *After Dhammapada add:*

'To T. Burrow we are also indebted for the publication (*Further Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Niya*, BSOS. IX) of the text and translation of 18 tablets of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Stein in his last Central Asian expedition in 1930'.

P. 14. line 23: *After 'Tocharian language' add:*

'Meanwhile E. Leumann published (Strassburg 1919) the Tocharian text (with a German translation) of the *Maitreyasamiti* of the poet Āryacandra'.

P. 15. line 18: *After Heidelberg 1928 add:*

'The revised readings of some of these fragments along with the readings of certain new fragments of Soghdian Manuscripts were published by E. Benveniste (*Notes Sogdiennes*, BSOS. IX)'.

P. 15. line 24: *For 'Eassai' read 'Essai'.*

*Ibid.*, line 26: *After 'E. Benveniste (Paris 1929)' add:*

'The facsimilies of Soghdian manuscripts preserved

in the Bibliothèque Nationale have been published by Benveniste under the title '*Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Minoris*, vol. III, *Codices Sogdiani* (Copenhagen 1940)'.

P. 16. lines 1-8: For 'A complete poem in Khotanese Śaka ...Vijaya Śūra read the following:

'The longest literary work in Khotanese Śaka, consisting of an epic in 25 chapters relating to the legend of the future saviour Maitreya and derived entirely from Indian inspiration, was edited with a German translation by E. Leumann and published (1933-34) after his death by Manu Leumann. It bears (in German) the title *The North Aryan (Sakish) doctrinal poem of Buddhism*. A series of studies of Khotanese texts in the collection of the British Museum and of the India Office has been recently published by H. W. Bailey under the title *Hvatanica* (BSOS. VIII—X). Among the most interesting of these texts are a fragment of a Khotanese translation of the *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta (BSOS. VIII), a Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual text (*Ibid.* IX) and a number of texts referring to gods and goddesses (largely of Indian origin) that were worshipped in ancient Khotan (*Ibid.* X). In BSOS. VIII, H. W. Bailey and E. W. Johnston jointly edited a fragment of the *Uttaratantra* (a fundamental work of Northern Buddhism) with Khotanese Śaka annotations. To H. W. Bailey we owe the publication of the text and translation of the Khotanese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (BSOS., X. Parts 2 & 3). He has also edited (BSOS. IX) the supposed Sanskrit original of the Khotanese *Jātakastava* of Jñānayaśas. This work, which is preserved in the Tohoku Catalogue of the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Bstan-hgyur, consists of the Sanskrit text written in Tibetan script with inter-linear Tibetan gloss'.

P. 16. line 22: After S. P. A. W. 1931 add:

'Mention may be made in this connection of the important paper (in German) of H. Stöner on *The Central Asian Sanskrit Texts in Brāhmī Script.* (SKPAW., XLIV. 1904). A Turkish fragment in Brāhmī was afterwards published along with a glossary of Turkish words by H. W. Bailey (BSOS. IX)'.

P. 17. line 8: *After* 'surprisingly' *add*.

'The Tibetan fragments of the Rāma story have since been investigated by M. Lalou (*J. A.*, 1936)'.

P. 17. line 34: *After* Peiping 1930-31 *add*:

'A brief but useful, survey of Indian cultural influences in Central Asia, Tibet, China, Further India and Malayasia has since been given by F. W. Thomas in his *Calcutta University Lectures* under the title *Indianism and its Expansion*, Calcutta 1942. In the course of this work the author pays a well-deserved tribute to the work of Japanese scholars, of whom he says (*op. cit.* p. 96):—'In the study of ancient Indian originals no other country has produced scholars combining to the same extent a facility in dealing with the sources and the painstaking scholarly method'.

P. 18. line 26: *For* K'ang-shi' *read* K'ang-hsi'.

P. 18. line 38: *Omit* Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, *ed.* Rahula Sankrityayana, JBORS (1938-39).

P. 19. line 9: *Omit* by Vallée Poussin and

P. 19. line 12: *After* Calcutta 1931 *add*:

'The authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa* is still disputed between Dinnāga and his pupil Śaṅkaraśvāmin. For a good summary of this discussion see the *Introduction*, pp. vi-xiii to the *Nyāyapraveśa*, Pt. I, Sanskrit text with commentaries critically edited by A. B. Dhruva (GOS. No. XXXVIII, Baroda, 1930). The author's tentative conclusion is that 'the *Nyāyapraveśa* is a work composed by Śaṅkaraśvāmin to facilitate entrance

into the *Nyāyadvāra* ('the Gate of Logic') which is a work of his master Diñnāga'. *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Diñnāga has recently been edited in its restored Sanskrit form with an accompanying English translation and copious extracts from Dharmapāla's commentary by N. Aiyaswami Sastri. (Adyar Library, Madras 1942). To this list we have to add the publication of the text and translation (in German) of *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* by Freiderich Weller, Leipzig 1926. This work consists of two parts, Part I, containing the text and translation of cantos 1-8 and Part II those of cantos 9-17.'

P. 19 line 25: After Part II, 1932, add:

'Some valuable hints for the collection of materials for a Tibetan bibliography are given by Andrew Vostrikov in his paper, *Some corrections and critical remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet* (BSOS., VIII, Pt. 1, 1935).'

P. 19 line 32: After Hanoi 1935 add:

'A classified and illustrated catalogue of the Loo Collection of Tibetan Paintings prepared by Mlle. Raymonde Linossier was published under the title *Les peintures tibétaines de la collection Loo* in the *Études d'Orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la Mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932.'

P. 21 line 12: After temples add:

'Of great historical, aesthetic as well as iconographical interest are the frescoes of *tāntric* deities executed by Indian artists c. 1000 A. D., which adorn the walls of some of these temples.'

P. 21 line 28: After Tibetan Libraries add:

'The Bihar & Orissa Research Society has since published a series of works under the title *Sanskrit Texts from Tibet*. Among these we may specially mention the *Adhyardhaśataka* ['Hymn of one hundred

and fifty (verses)] by Māṛceta, edited with preface and two appendices by Rahula Sankrityayana. This edition is based upon Sanskrit texts recovered by the author from Tibetan monastic libraries as well as the Tibetan and Chinese versions and Hoernle's edition of the Central Asian Manuscript Fragments in the work *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*. Another notable work of the same series is the *Pramāṇavārttika* by Dharmakīrti which is a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diṇnāga, 'the father of Indian Mediaeval logic'.

P. 21. line 35: *For Asia Major VIII read 1929, Verlag der Asia Major.*

P. 26. line 8: *For ASI 1915 read ASI 1915-16.*

P. 31. line 14: *For Vajirañāna read Vajirañāṇa.*

P. 32. line 18: *Omit and so forth.*

P. 33. line 16: *For 1930 read 1937.*

P. 34. line 24: *For U'kong read U'tong.*

P. 35. line 25: *After Gupta School add:*

'The reference is to Coëdès' paper *Note sur les quelques sculptures provenant de Srideb (Siam) in Études d'Orientalisme Linossier.*'

P. 39. line 24: *After regions add:*

'An index of Aymonier's great work was published by George Coëdès in *BCAI.*, 1911.'

P. 40. line 3: *Add a new paragraph.*

'We may refer in the present place to the activities of the Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-chine attached to the archaeological section of the *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, which was established by a decree of the Minister of Public Instruction in 1908. It started in the same year an important *Bulletin* to receive and examine all communications relating to the conservation of archaeological monuments in Indo-China. In actual practice the activities of the school extended far beyond its narrow

programme. The successive numbers of its *Bulletin* contained inventories of Indo-Chinese sculptures existing in public and private collections within and outside France, such as the *Catalogue des pieces originales de sculpture khmère conservees au Musée indo-chinois du Trocadero et au Musée Guimet* by George Cœdès (BCAL., 1910), and the *Catalogue des sculptures Cames et Khmeres du Musée royal d'ethnographie à Berlin* by H. Stönnér (BCAL., 1912). Among other topics treated in the *Bulletin* were various questions of Indo-Chinese archaeology and epigraphy. Such were *Les bas reliefs de Baphuon* by Louis Finot (BCAL., 1910), *Les bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat* by George Cœdès (BCAL., 1911) and *Les inscriptions du Bayon* by George Cœdès, (BCAL., 1913). In the same Journal (BCAL., 1911) Cœdès published his *Index Alphabetique pour le Cambodge de M. Aymonier*. The Commission finally published a number of monographs such as *Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom, Bas-reliefs publiés par les soins de la commission Archéologique de l'Indo-chine*, (2 vols. Paris, 1910-13) and *Les Monuments du Cambodge, Étude d'architecture khmère publiés par L. Delaporte*, fasc. 1, 1914, fasc. 2, 1920, fasc. 3'.

P. 42. line 34: *After Dharanindravarman II add:*

'See Cœdès, *Journal Asiatique*, 1920, p. 96'.

P. 44. line 4: *After Buddha add:*

'A statue of Vajradhara at Bantei Chmar has been since identified by Goloubew (*JISOA.*, vol. V, 1937) as a portrait of Jayavarman VII, 'the living Buddha'.

P. 45. line 12: *For 1921-24 read 1921-26.*

P. 47. line 27: *After has held add: (IAL., 1937).*

P. 47. line 34: *After the same scholar add: loc. cit.*

P. 48. line 7: *After monuments add:*

'In the branch of Cambodian iconography we may mention the comprehensive paper (in French) by Louis Finot called *Lokesvara en Indo-chine* (*Études*

*Asiatiques I*). Some supplementary notes have been added by U. N. Ghoshal, *Note on a type of Lokeśvara in Cambodge*, (JGIS., V. January, 1938), *Some Indian Parallels of Lokeśvara types in Indo-China*, (*Ibid.*, July, 1938). The iconography of the Khmer 'Crowned Buddha' has been discussed by P. Mus (BEFEO., XXVIII), while Bosch has contributed (BEFEO., XXXI) a valuable monograph (in French) on *The Liṅgodbhavamūrti of Śiva in Indo-China*'.

P. 48. line 24: After 'civilization' add:

'In BEFEO. 1929, Coedès has furnished new data bearing on the chronology and genealogy of the dynasty of kings from Jayavarman VI to Jayavarman VII'.

P. 48. line 36: After Laos add:

'started respectively in 1925 and 1915'.

P. 49. line 2: For students read studies. Add:

'Mention may be made in this connection of the various publications in which the French School has sought from time to time to communicate its activities. In 1917 Émile Senart presented his report on the activities of the School to the famous *Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres* in Paris. His example was followed successively by H. Cordier who submitted two *Reports* covering the period from 1918 to 1920, by L. Finot who presented his *Report* for the years 1920 to 1926 and by A. Foucher who did the same for the period 1926 to 1930. Meanwhile Finot published (BEFEO., 1921) a complete summary of the activities of the School from its origin to 1920. The school, which celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary by publishing two volumes of *Études Asiatiques* in 1925, started a quarterly series of chronicles (*Cahiers*) in 1934'.

P. 51 line 8: For vol. VIII read vol. VII.

P. 52 line 2: After 'so forth' add:

'It was followed by another volume containing the plates and albums.'

- P. 52. line 15: For *BEFEO.*, XXXII, read *BEFEO.*, XXXI.
- P. 56. line 7: For *Caṇḍi* read *Chaṇḍi*.
- P. 58. lines 23-26: For on the site of.....inscription read.  
 'These were noticed in the *Oudheid-kundig Verslag*, (1937), while a popular account was given by A. J. Bernet-Kempers in *ABIA.*, XII, pp. 51-53.
- P. 53. lines 34-35: For These have been.....beliefs read.  
 'These remains were reported in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1936, while a popular account was published by W. F. Stutterheim in *ABIA.*, XI, pp. 25-30'.
- P. 63. line 32: After Batavia-Leiden 1925 add:  
 In his paper *The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia* (BSOS., IV) the same scholar has compared parallel versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indo-China (Ramakien in Siam, Hikajat Seri Rama in Malay, Serat Rama in Java and Madura, *Rāmāyaṇa* in Bali) with one another and with the Indian versions'.
- P. 66. line 15: After *B.K.I.*, vol. XC. add:  
 'In her learned work *Ganesa. A monography on the elephant-faced god. With an introduction by Alfred Foucher*. Oxford, 1936. Alice Getty described the well-known Javanese images of Ganesa along with the Buddhist Ganesas of Endere and Tun Huang in Central Asia and the Ganesas of Cambodia and Champa'.
- P. 73. line. 1: After *JGIS.*, vol. II, add:  
 According to R. Heine-Geldern (*Archaeology and Art in Sumatra*), Gupta, South Indian and Javanese influences affected the Sumatran art prior to and during the Śrīvijaya period, but these could not efface the indigenous style'.
- P. 73. line 28: After the 7th century add:  
 'We may refer lastly to the work of J. Tideman (*Hindoe-invloed in Noorde-lijk Batakland*, Amsterdam, 1936) describing Hindu-Javanese and South-Indian influences upon Batak culture'.
- P. 79. line 1: For called read call.

## APPENDIX I

### GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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*Bibliotheca indo-sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'Indo-Chine*, par Henri Cordier.

*Ibid.*, Tome I Birmanie, Assam, Siam et Laos, Paris 1912.

*Ibid.*, Tome II Péninsule Malaise, Paris 1913.

*Ibid.*, Tome III Indo-Chine Française, Paris 1914.

*Ibid.*, Tome IV Indo-Chine Française, Paris 1914.

*Ibid.*, Index, par Mme. M. A. Roland-Cabaton, Paris 1932.

*Bibliographie de l'Indo-Chine Française* (1913-26), par Paul Boudet et Rémy Bourgeois, Hanoi 1929.

*Ibid.* (1927-29), Hanoi 1932.

*Ibid.* 1930, Hanoi 1933.

*Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine*, Années 1917-30; II. *L'archéologie indo-chinoise de 1917 à 1930*, par L. Finot.

*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, XXI (1921):—*L'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient depuis son origine jusqu'en 1920*.

*Ibid.* Index Generale des tomes I-XX.

*Ibid.* XXXII, 1932. Index Generale des tomes XXI-XXX.

## APPENDIX II

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE TEXT

- A. B. I. A. :* *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*,  
Leyden.
- A. K. M. :* *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgen-  
landes.*
- Ann. Rep.*  
*A. S. I. :* *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey  
of India*, Delhi.
- B. C. A. I. :* *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique  
de l'Indo-chine*, Paris.
- B. E. F. E. O. :* *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême  
Orient*, Hanoi.
- B. K. I. :* *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land— en Volken-  
kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven  
door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-,  
Land— en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-  
Indië, The Hague.
- B. S. O. S. :* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*,  
London.
- I. A. L. :* *Indian Art and Letters*, London.
- J. A. :* *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
- J. A. O. S. :* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,  
Harvard.
- J. A. S. B. :* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,  
Calcutta.
- J. B. O. R. S. :* *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research  
Society*, Patna.
- J. G. I. S. :* *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta.
- J. R. A. S. :* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great  
Britain and Ireland*, London.
- J.R.A.S.M.B. :* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malay  
Branch*, Singapore.

- J. I. S. O. A.:* *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.
- J. S. S.:* *Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok.
- Med. der kon*  
*Ak. van Wet:* *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde.*
- R. A. A.:* *Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris.
- S. P. A. W.:* *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin.
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- Z. D. M. G.:* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig.

### APPENDIX III

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ON GREATER INDIA (1917-1942)

#### AFGHANISTAN

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- , *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, tome I, Stūpas et sites*. [Mémoires ..... tome IV]. Paris, 1933.
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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum:** By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum), Madras 1942. pp. xviii + 376 and 55 Plates. Government Press, Madras, Rs. 14/8.\*

Amarāvati, situated on the south bank of the Krishna river in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, was one of the great cities of India in the first two centuries before Christ and the centuries immediately following. Its glory was the magnificent Buddhist *stūpa* with a drum adorned with two tiers of casing slabs in bluish marble, the whole structure being enclosed by an exquisitely carved railing in the same material which was nearly six hundred feet in circumference and thirteen or fourteen feet in height. 'It has been estimated that the railing alone provided a superficial area of 17,000 square feet covered with delicate reliefs, while the *stūpa* itself, all the lower part of which was cased in carved stone, had a diameter of 162 feet'. (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 70). Revered as the principal seat of one of the ancient Buddhist schools (*the caityakas* of the Mahāsaṅghika sect), the *stūpa* received successive additions at the hands of pious devotees for a period of four or five centuries (2nd century B.C. to c. 250 A.D.). In later times it shared in the general neglect of Buddhist monuments which was the index of the decay of the religion of the Buddha in its homeland. Re-discovered by Col. Colin Mackenzie in 1797, it has undergone more or less unsystematic excavations for nearly a century, presenting before the year 1880, in the forceful language of M. Foucher (*L' Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, tome II, p. 613), 'a déplorable odyssee des débris de ce merveilleux édifice'. Out of the group of Amarāvati marbles which it was possible to save from destruction, an important collection found its way, like the famous Elgin marbles of the Parthenon, into the

\* A brief extract from this review was published by the present writer in the *Calcutta Statesman* in its issue of December 13, 1942.

British Museum in London. Another valuable collection was deposited in the Madras Museum, while a few sculptures were sent to the Indian Museum in Calcutta.

To Dr. James Burgess of the Archaeological Survey of India, who was entrusted with the scientific excavation of the monument in 1881, we owe the first important monograph on the subject. It was published in 1887 under the title *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*. Since then considerable additions have been made to our knowledge of the famous *stūpa* by the discovery of fresh sculptures and revised interpretations of older ones as well as the decipherment of the inscriptions. In the present well-written monograph the author has utilised the researches of previous scholars (including the valuable notes of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran) as well as his own intensive studies to produce an admirably comprehensive and up-to-date description of the sculptures of the Madras Museum collection. While it is much to be regretted that he had no opportunities of completing his study by utilising the British Museum or even the Calcutta Museum collections, we are thankful to him for providing us with something more than a mere descriptive catalogue of the sculptures and inventory of the inscriptions. For he has enriched his account within his compass with a short, but valuable, historical introduction, with an excellent survey of the art, iconography and symbolism of the monument, and last but not least, with a vivid and complete picture of the culture and civilisation of the period accompanied with illustrative drawings of the sculptures and copious references from Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. A good bibliography, five valuable appendices (including indices of personal and geographical names and a glossary of words occurring in the inscriptions), a general index and fifty-five plates with short explanatory notes complete this fine monograph.

We propose to make a few remarks. Following the authority of Burgess, the author identifies (p.3) Hiuen Tsang's capital city of Tho-na-kie-tse-kia (Read *T'e-na-ka-che-ka*

with Watters) with Amarāvati, forgetting Watters' criticism (*On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 218) to the effect that Hiuen Tsang is completely silent about the existence of the *stūpa* in that area. The author's further suggestion (p.4) that the original *stūpa* of Amarāvati was built by Aśoka rests on the flimsiest grounds, while it is significant that not even the tradition of such a construction was known to the industrious Hiuen Tsang at the time of his visit in the 7th century.

The writer justifies (p. 16ff.) his chronological division of the Amarāvati sculptures into four periods, viz. c. 200-100 B.C., c. 100 A.D., c. 150 A.D. and c. 200-250 A.D., which is based on the style of the sculptures and palaeography of the inscriptions, by an elaborate comparison of *motifs* and technique from the earliest to the latest times. In this connection we are presented with a useful comparative "table of early Indian sculptural periods" tracing the minute changes in dress and ornament, in pose and motifs, in human and other forms, for nearly a millennium, from the sculpture of Bhārhut, Ajaṇṭā Cave X, Amarāvati I and Sāñchi (2nd cent. B.C.) to those of the Pallava monuments (7th-8th centuries A. D.) It must, however, be remembered that the art of Sāñchi itself passed through a long course of development and decay. In the sculptures of the Second and Third *stūpas* (excepting the gateway and the ground balustrade of the latter) as well as the ground balustrade and stone casing of the Great *Stūpa* (2nd cent. B.C.) the early indigenous school retains much of its primitive character. But the school reaches its climax in the reliefs of the four gateways of the Great *Stūpa* and the single gateway of the Third *stūpa* (c. 50 B.C.). Further developments may be traced in the detached images of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. as well as those of the 6th and 7th centuries. The group of structures on the eastern terrace of the Sāñchi Hill belonging to the late mediaeval period mark the last stage in the development of the local art. (On the above, see Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 11-25). Evidently the author, in drawing up his comparative table, has ignored all but the first phase of the Sāñchi art.

Equally regrettable is the author's complete omission to illustrate the interesting changes to which he draws attention, with appropriate drawings.

In connecting (p. 44) 'the art of such distant places as Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta, Bharhut and Sanchi, Ajanta and Bagh and beyond the seas at Borabudur' (*sic!*), by 'common heredity' with 'the great Imperial art of the Mauryas' the author ignores the division of Maurya art into the official or court art of Aśoka's reign, which according to most authorities was more or less of an exotic character, and the art of the Early Indian School which was represented at Bharhut and Sāñchī. It is also to be regretted that the author has failed to consider the views of M. Foucher (*op. cit.*, pp. 613-618) regarding the influence of the Gandhāra School upon the later art of Amarāvati. The section on iconography and symbolism (a more appropriate title would have been 'representations of Buddha, of demi-gods and of real and mythical animals') of the monument is good so far as it goes. But the author has unfortunately failed to refer to the valuable contributions made on the subject by Foucher (*op. cit.*) and Vogel, (*Gangā et Yamunā dans l' iconographie Brahmanique, Études Asiatiques*, 1925 and *Le Maṅkara dans la sculpture de l'Inde, Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Paris 1930). If he had referred to Vogel's monograph last-named, he would have found (*op. cit.*, p. 94) the ancestry of the *Maṅkara-motif* to be traced beyond Bharhut and Amarāvati to the crocodile figures on the façade of the Lomasa Rishi Cave at the Barabar Hills near Gaya.

The author's description of the various aspects of Indian life in the light of the Amarāvati sculptures of the third period which is illustrated with appropriate drawings and explained in the light of literary references is accurate and comprehensive. But he might have referred to the important paper of Dr. Moti Chandra, *The History of Indian costume from the first century A.D. to the beginning of the fourth century* (JISOA. 1940).

We have noticed a few misprints which may be corrected

in a future edition. Such are Rae, Bacchofer (p. xvii), Barnet Kempers (pp. xvii, 153, 310), Tourner (p. 4), Simukha (p. 9), Les sculpture (p. 32), and Khabho (p. 272). For *loc. cit.* (pp. 3, 6, 14 etc.) read *op. cit.* The rendering of Śūnyavāda (p. 16) as Nihilism should be discarded in favour of the more accurate term 'Doctrine of Absolute Truth'. The reference (p. 272) to Guṇaḍhya's *Bṛhat-kathā* as a poem is a slip. We do not know on what grounds Kalidāsa is assigned to the Śuṅga period (p. 55). The want of diacritical marks throughout the work is much to be regretted. It is difficult to understand why the author should refer (p. 182 etc.) to late Burmese Buddhist legends narrated by Spence Hardy as his authorities for identification of the Amarāvati sculptures. It is also curious to find that for his account (p. 16) of incipient schisms in Buddha's life-time and for his interpretations of sculptures of c. 150 A.D. he can quote no earlier authorities than the *Dhammapada* commentary (pp. 187, 193, 195, 198, 199, 200, 202, 214 and 228). The same criticism applies to his quotation of Dhammapāla's commentray on the *Therīgāthā* (p. 192) and of the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* (p. 215) for the interpretation of other sculptures of the same period.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**Palni The Sacred Hill of Muruga:** By J. M. Somasundaram. Published by the Sri Dandayuthapani Swami Devasthanam, Palni. Madras, 1941. 48 pp. Price -/12/-.

In this monograph Mr. J. M. Somasundaram, whose earlier work on *The Great Temple of Tanjore* was reviewed by us in a former issue of this Journal, attempts a short description of the great shrine of Dandayuthapani and attached temples on and near the sacred hill of the child-god Muruga at Palni. The author, who holds the high post of executive officer of the Sri Dandayuthapani Devasthanam, has succeeded in giving within a short compass much valuable information about the main shrine and its adjuncts. We learn from him the topography, history and communication of the site, the early history of the main shrine,

the principal festivals, the literary works connected therewith and so forth. It is good to learn that under the enlightened management of the trustees in recent years a Śaiva-Siddhānta Sabhā, a Veda-Śivāgama Patasala, a library and a reading-room have been founded on the site. At the end of the work the author gives in the form of Appendices a list of twenty-six constituent temples of the Devasthanam and a list of landed properties attached thereto as well as a chronological list of trustees from 1863 onwards together with the improvements effected in their time. Two other Appendices contain a select bibliography (in the original Tamil) of the literature dealing with the shrine and the English translation of an ancient hymn in honour of the god Muruga composed according to the orthodox tradition (which the author accepts unquestioningly) by Nakkirar, a member of the third Tamil academy who belonged to about the first century A.D. Nine plates (including a ground-plan of the main shrine) and twenty-six illustrations added to the usefulness of this work.

We have noticed a few printing mistakes which may be corrected in a later edition. We may further observe that the author would have done well in giving his copious Tamil extracts in an English translation for the benefit of non-Tamilian readers. For the same purpose it would have been useful to append a glossary of technical terms.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**The Early Muslim Expansion in South India:** By N. Venkataramanyya, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Madras University Historical Series, No. 17. Published by the University of Madras, 1942. 216 pp. Price, Rs. 6/8.

This is another of those valuable publications on South Indian History and Culture which we owe to the Madras School of historians working under the competent guidance of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The aim of this monograph, to quote the words of the author's Preface, is 'the investigation

of the circumstances under which the great Hindu empire of Vijayanagara came to be established'. For this purpose he begins with a chapter describing the condition of the four Hindu kingdoms—those of the Sēuṇas (ordinarily known as Yādavas), the Kākatīyas, the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas—on the eve of the Muslim invasions. In the four following chapters he describes the successive waves of Muslim invasions under the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs, ending in the complete subjugation of the four kingdoms by the Delhi Sultanate. The sixth chapter briefly sketches the administration of the new rulers with its characteristic weaknesses. The dramatic story of the emancipation of the land from the yoke of Delhi forms the subject-matter of the seventh chapter. The concluding chapter deals briefly with the new Hindu kingdoms that arose on the ruins of of the Muslim empire in the South.

In tracing the eventful history of the country on the lines sketched above, the author who has already a number of important works on South Indian history to his credit, has undoubtedly attained great success. His use of sources is very nearly exhaustive, as he lays under contribution not only Sanskrit and Tamil literary works and South Indian inscriptions, but also the important Persian histories and Portuguese notices. We only wish he had utilised the evidence of the coins of the Sultans of Madura. The author shows sound judgment in sifting the discrepant and often contradictory evidence of his authorities on various matters of detail. His style is clear and forceful. His explanation of historical movements is suggestive and thoughtful, if not always convincing.

We shall make a few remarks. Speaking of the Hindu re-action following the successive inroads of Islam, the author says (p. 146):—'The Hindus of the North, though they clung to their ancient faith ever so tenaciously, offered little or no resistance to their oppressors. They meekly submitted to all this ill-treatment and betrayed a strange incapacity to organise themselves to defend their spiritual

freedom (*sic*). When, however, the Muhammadans extended their field of activities and attempted to impose their yoke upon the Hindus of the Deccan, they found that the task was not easy of accomplishment.... Their success was evanescent and their authority was overthrown as quickly as it was established.' This strange verdict which is at variance with the authors' usual sense of fairness, ignores the prolonged and successful stand made by the Guhilas and other dynasties of Rajputana, the Ahom kings of Assam and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga, for their independence. In the same context (pp. 165-66) the author accounts for the impermanent character of Muslim rule in South India by referring to certain characteristics of the Śaivas of that region, 'which, while distinguishing them from the other Hindus, reveal a strange affinity to the followers of Islam.' These features, according to the author, consisted in their strict monotheism, their faith in themselves being the chosen of god, their indifference to distinctions of birth and wealth within their own ranks and their intolerance towards their rival creeds. Elsewhere (pp. 11-12). however, the author mentions amongst the causes of the political and social degradation of the Hindus on the eve of the Muslim invasion, the bitter struggle for supremacy between Śaivism (specially Vīra-Śaivism) and Vaiṣṇavism. We are nowhere told whether and if so how, 'the two dominant creeds of Hinduism' were reconciled to each other during the interval, so as to ensure the common solidarity of the people. Nor again does it appear why the strong points of South Indian Śaivism failed to ensure the immunity of the Hindu Kingdoms in the earlier period.

We cannot conclude without stating that the present work makes a very important and useful contribution to the history of the period with which it deals. Its value would have been enhanced by the addition of maps, genealogical tables and a classified bibliography of sources together with their critical notices.

U. N. GHOSHAL

## EDITORIAL NOTES

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the annual donation of Rupees one hundred only for the current year from Dr. Narendra Nath Law, one of the members of its Managing Committee.

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On behalf of the University of Ceylon the University Librarian has written (letter dated the 29th April 1943) to the Honorary Secretary, Greater India Society, requesting that the newly started *University of Ceylon Review* be placed on the Exchange List of the Society's journal. The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society has gladly acceded to the request.

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The following letter was received by the Honorary Secretary, Greater India Society on 28.7.43

'The Library of Congress, Washington  
Honorary Secretary, Greater India Society,  
35, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta, India.

March 30, 1943

Dear Sir,

Some years ago we received a single copy of the Journal of the Greater India Society. We very much desire to secure a complete set of this important Journal.....We also wish to receive the Journal currently and in the future. Would you be willing to consider sending it on an exchange basis?

Very sincerely yours  
Sd. Horace I. Poleman  
Chief, Indic Section.'

The Managing Committee of the Greater India Society has great pleasure in placing the Congress Library, Washington, on the exchange list of its Journal. It also agreed to send a complete set of the back numbers of the Journal at a concession rate.

\* \* \* \*

The Greater India Society mourns, in common with other Oriental Societies of India and outside, the sad and

sudden death in January 1943 of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, late general editor of the now well-known critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The profound scholarship displayed by the late lamented scholar in his edition of the successive *parvans* of India's greatest Epic rightly earned for him world-wide fame. The Greater India Society has particular reason to honour his memory as he was the first of his countrymen to utilise the Old-Japanese versions of the *Mahābhārata* for his own critical editions.

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Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Research Institute has announced to us the appointment of Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., as general editor of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* with effect from the first April 1943. Dr. Belvalkar has much experience in the work of textual criticism, while he has already prepared a critical edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, which is expected to be shortly published. It is to be noted that the great work of bringing out a complete critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* which was left unfinished by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar will be fittingly brought to its close by his successor.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals etc.

### Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, II.

Babylonia and India by A. Berriedale Keith [Criticism of paper by F. Albright and P. E. Dumont on the parallel between India and Babylonia in *JAOS*. Vol. 54. "There is a vital difference in purpose and character between the Vedic horse-sacrifice and the Babylonian." "The new evidence does not help us in any way to strengthen the case for deducing the Indian *nakṣatras* from Babylonian sources."]

### Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. X. Pt. 4.

Hvatanica by H. W. Bailey [Text and translation of thirteen Khotanese extracts illustrating the religion of Khotan, together with a Lexical Commentary, a Note on Theology and Legend and an Appendix].

Recherches sur l'etymologie des deux dialects tokhariens. Par A. J. van Windekens [In continuation of the author's publication *De Indo-Europeesche bestanddeelen in de Tocharische declinatie*, Louvain 1940, discusses the etymology of fourteen selected words].

## ADDITIONS TO OUR LIBRARY

The Greater India Society begs to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following periodicals and books since the last notice in *JGIS.*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

### Periodicals

- Annual Report of the Varendra Research Museum, 1939-40.  
Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VI, Pts. 2-4; vol. VII, Pts. 1-2.  
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXIV, Pts. 1-2.  
Bhāratīya Vidyā Patrikā, vol. I, Pts. 5 & 6. Bombay 1943.  
Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, vol. III, Nos. 2-4; vol. IV, Nos. 1-2.  
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. X, Pt. 4.  
Indian Culture, vol. VIII, No. 1.  
Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XVII, No. 4, vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-4; vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2.  
Journal of Āndhra History and Culture, Vol. I, No. 1.  
Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. XI, No. 3.  
Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. VIII, Nos. 3-4, Vol. IX, Nos. 1 & 2, Nos. 3 & 4.  
Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXI, Pts. 1-3, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1.  
Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, vol. III, Nos. 1-2, Vol. IV, No. 1.  
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 2-4; Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, Nos. 2 & 3; No. 4.  
The Library Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1.  
Man in India, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-3.  
Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Vol. 46, pt. 4; Vol. 47, pt. 1.  
Nagpur University Journal, No. 6, Dec. 1940.  
University of Ceylon Review, Vol. I, No. 1.

## BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.

- Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum. By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Madras Government Museum. Madras 1942.
- An Approach to the Rāmāyaṇa. By C. Narayana Menon, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Benares 1942.
- Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology, Vol. II for 1939. By Braz A. Fernandes. Bombay Historical Society, Bombay 1941.
- Ceylon under the British Occupation, 1795-1833, vols. I & II. By Colvin R. de Silva, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law. Colombo, Ceylon 1942.
- Early History of the Andhra Country. By K. Gopalachari, M.A., Ph.D. Madras University Historical Series No. 16. University of Madras. Madras 1942.
- The Early Muslim Expansion in South India. By N. Venkataramanyya, M.A., Ph.D. Madras University Historical Series, No. 17, University of Madras, Madras 1942.
- The Lalita Cult. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, No. 8. University of Madras. Madras 1942.
- Palni the Sacred Hill of Muruga. By J. M. Soma-sundaram B.A., B.L. Sri Dandayuthapani Swami Devasthanam, Palni.
- A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh. By Dr. Luciano Petech, Ph.D. Calcutta 1939.
- The Successors of the Sātavāhanas. By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. University of Calcutta. Calcutta 1939.
- Tables Comparing Gupta Inscriptions and Puranic Tradition. By D. R. Patil. Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

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**On the Role of the Central Asian Nomads  
In the History of India\***

BY DR. P. C. BAGCHI

I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this august assembly. The responsibility that you have assigned to me is indeed very great and I am afraid I am not the person who can discharge it to your satisfaction. It seems that the most difficult task of a President is to choose the subject of his address. I have failed to discover a strict principle that might guide us in this matter and make our task easier. The two alternatives before us, I believe, are either to give a survey of the work done in our field of study since we last met or to deal with a particular problem that would interest every one of us. A survey without a proper consideration of the values will be a simple catalogue of works that are more or less known to us. An evaluation of the merits and demerits of such works, again, is beset with difficulties of which we are all aware. I shall therefore choose the other alternative and discuss some problems of the ancient history

\* Presidential address at the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress held at Aligarh, Dec. 26, 1943; Section I, (Ancient India up to 711 A.D.).

of India which, although studied on numerous occasions for more than half a century, have not yet lost their interest to us. I am however fully conscious of my short-comings and I hope you will be indulgent towards me if I ill fulfil my task.

The problems to which I should like to draw your attention are connected with the rôle of the Central Asian nomads in the history of India. While dealing with these invaders, we have been in the habit of attaching greater importance to the foreign sources of information than to our own literature. I do not however deny that for nearly one thousand years, from the end of the second century before Christ up to the eighth, the Chinese sources supply us with more definite information on the movements of the Central Asian nomads than any other source, but there is no reason for attaching greater importance to the Greek and Latin texts than to our own for their early history. In fact the classical writers derived their knowledge of these people either from the Persians or from the Indians. The recent researches into the Central Asian antiquities have shown that the ancient Indians possessed a fairly precise knowledge of these people.

The region beyond the Himalays was never so isolated from India as we often think. The people of Northern India and specially the people of the Punjab possessed some knowledge of this region and were in contact with the nomads almost in every age. They did not consider them foreigners as we do now, simply because the distinction between them, both physical and cultural, was not so great as to create a sharp difference between them. Conflict arose only in cases when the newcomers tried to unsettle the established political conditions, but peaceful infiltration was generally a welcome feature as it contributed to the prosperity of the country and proved an added military strength to the local ruler. The Brahmanical social code always provided them with an independent place in the society. Although it meant the formation of new castes, it

did not hurt their *amour-propre*, but made them willing partners of an ever-growing civilisation.

As early as the later Vedic period the Indian writers show an acquaintance with the people beyond the northern and north-western frontiers. In the *Atharvaveda* (V. 22, 5-9) the fever *taṣman* is wished away not only to the country of the Gandhāris but also further beyond, to that of the Bāhlikas. In the Brāhmaṇa literature we again come across these people (*Śat. Br.* I, 7, 3-5). Two new people are also spoken of—the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras as distinguished from the Kurus and the Madras settled in the Punjab (*Ait. Br.* VIII, 14, 23). The next writer Yāska who comes immediately after, speaks of another new people—the Kāmbojas probably for the first time (*Nirukta*, II, 2).

The Bāhlikas are well known. It appears that the Uttarakurus, Uttaramadras as well as the Kāmbojas too belonged to the still undefined region of Central Asia beyond the Himalayas. The existence of an Uttarakuru in this region is noted by the Greek writers till the fifth century A. D. Ptolemy is the first to speak of a town named Ottorokorra and of a river and a mountain bearing the same name in the Serique (Chinese Turkestan) near the mountain Emodos (Himalaya). Later writers speak of the same place under the name Oporrocorra (*apara* and *uttara* here having the same meaning). The tradition survived till the 5th century as Orosius still speaks of the Ottorogorras. The name Uttaramadra might suggest a connection with the Median tribes (the Mādā) and an attempt was made a few years ago to prove that the Maddas or the Madras of the Punjab were Median immigrants to India. Amongst the reasons adduced in favour of this hypothesis stress has been laid on the unorthodox customs prevalent amongst them and mentioned by the *Mahābhārata*. The epic distinctly speaks of the king of the Madras as Bāhlika-puṅgava and thus suggests his connection with the Iranian world.

The Kāmbojas also point to the same direction. Although they are constantly associated with Gandhāra,

still it is impossible to find out their trace on the frontiers of India. The name of Gandhāra survived for long centuries, but that of the Kāmbojas was soon forgotten. This makes it probable that they belonged to the nomad hordes of Central Asia which were moving from place to place. One of their branches seem to have entered India in very early times, but they must have soon lost their identity as a distinct people. Other branches of the same people seem to have entered Eastern Tibet and the valley of the Mekong from another direction. By this assumption only we can explain why the name Kambuja was given to the kingdom founded in the middle valley of the Mekong. In Eastern Tibet also their name can be traced in the name of the province of Khams and it is probably from this region that the Kāmboja invasion of Assam and Bengal took place in later times.

In the early Buddhist texts, the Epics as well as the Purāṇas, we get a more elaborate scheme to systematise the geographical knowledge possessed by the Indians not only of India but also of other Asiatic regions. The principles which guided the compilers of these texts are not always evident, but as some of their notions correspond to actuality, it is not fair to reject the cosmology presented by them as fanciful.

The Buddhist texts mention four continents spread around the central mount Meru in the following order: in the south Jambudvīpa, in the North Uttarakuru, in the West Aparagodāna and in the East Pūrvavideha. Jambudvīpa was generally speaking India, according to the Buddhists. Uttarakuru, as we have seen, was the name given to Chinese Turkestan. Godāna was the name by which Khotan was known in ancient times. The oldest form of the name of Khotan is preserved in the Chinese transcription of the Han period as Yu-t'ien. The Chinese words were pronounced in the Han period as \*(g)iu-den i.e. Godāna. The name Aparagodāna thus seems to have been used with reference to the region of Khotan. Pūrvavideha must have meant the eastern zone to the east of

Videha—Videha being the eastern limit of the North Indian world at the time when this geographical notion was first formed.

The Brahmanical cosmology which is sensibly of a later period gives us a more elaborate scheme. Jambudvīpa according to it is no longer India alone, but the entire central belt of the continent as known to the compilers of that age. It is divided into seven *varṣas* or regions of which the first is the Bhāratavarṣa or India. Another known *varṣa* is Uttarakuru. The five other *varṣas* are the Kiṃpuruṣa, Hari, Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Ilāvṛta and Ramayaka. As the central mountain of the Kiṃpuruṣavarṣa is mentioned as Hemakūṭa, it is possible that this was the name given to the Himalayan zone. Ilāvṛta might suggest a connection with the region watered by the Ili river further to the north. Jambudvīpa is again only one of the seven continents. Amongst the other continents two, the Śākadvīpa and the Krauñcadvīpa, have been described in detail in the *Mahābhārata*. As we shall see later on, at least the former corresponded to reality.

But although we cannot do full justice to the cosmological notions contained in the Buddhist and Brahmanical texts, there is ample evidence to show that the Indian compilers were acquainted with most of the people of the Central Asiatic regions in the age when these cosmological notions were systematised. For example one of the early Sanskrit Buddhist texts, mentions—Cīna, Kauśika, Khaśa, Bāhli, Tukhāra, Pahlava, Pārata, Śaka, Vokkaṇa, Ramaṭha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* locates to the North of Gāndhāra and Madraka—the Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Bāhlika, Rṣika, Paurava, Kiṃkara, Cīna, Aparacīna, Tukhāra, Barbara, Kāmboja, Darada, Kirāta, Taṅkana, Paśupāla. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Yavana, Cīna, Kāmboja, Sakṛd-graha, Kulattha, Hūṇa, Pāraśika, Ramaṇa (*sic.* Ramaṭha), Ābhira, Darada, Kāśmīra, Paśu(pāla), Khasira (? Khasa), Pañhava (Pahlava), Girigahvara etc. amongst the people living in the North. The *Purāṇas* locate in the same region :

Bāhlika, Vāṭadhāna, Ābhira, Kālatoyaka, Pallava, Carmakhaṇḍika, Pārada, Hārabbhuṣika, Daśamālika, Kāmboja, Darada, Barbara, Harṣavardhana, Cīna, Tukhāra, Culika, Śūlika etc. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* attempts at a more precise classification: in the West—Haihaya, Vokkaṇa, Ramaṭha, Pārata Śaka; in the NW—Tuṣāra, Madra, Kulūta, Carma-raṅga, Ekavilocana (Ekanetra), Śūlika; in the N—Kuru, Uttarakuru, Vāṭadhāna, Hūṇa and in the NE—Paśupāla, Cīna, Khaśa, Ghoṣa, Kucika.

I will not waste your valuable time on the identification of these tribes, many of which are known to us from previous researches. Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Kāmboja, Hūṇa, Pāraśika, Cīna are well-known. The Tuṣāras or Tukhāras were the people of Tokharestan. The Carmakhaṇḍikas are supposed to have been the people of Samarcand. The Śūlikas, also known as Cūlikas were the Sogdians. The Kucikas or Kuśikas may be identified with the ancient people of Kucī or Kuchar. Vokkaṇa is identified with Wakhan. The Ekavilocanas remind us of the one-eyed people whom Herodotus locates in the extreme north of Central Asia above the Issedones. The Taṅganās or Taṅkanās may have been connected with the Doṅki or the Tunguse. Although we cannot identify other tribes in the lists referred to above the identities already noted are quite sufficient to prove that from about the second century B.C. to about 500 A.D. the Indian writers possessed a fairly accurate knowledge of the nomadic hordes that were moving about in Central Asia. The cosmological notions recorded by these writers reveal that they possessed also a fairly precise knowledge of the lands beyond the Himalayas. Compared with this, the Greek sources, although indispensable for our modern studies, do not appear to be of any greater value.

Under these circumstances I should like to attach a greater importance than hitherto done to the Puranic accounts of the foreign dynasties that ruled in India after the fall of the Imperial Andhras. The accounts say:

"When the kingdom of the Andhras has come to an end there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants: 7 Andhras, and 10 Ābhīra kings, also 7 Gardabhins, 18 Śakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tuṣāras, 13 Muruṇḍas and 11 Hūṇas (or Maunas)."

"The Śrīparvatiya Andhras will endure 52 years, the Ābhīra kings 67 years, the Gardabhins 72 years, the 18 Śakas 183 years, the 8 Yavanas 87 years. The earth is remembered as belonging to the Tuṣāras 7000 years, according to some accounts 500 (but apparently either 107 or 105 is meant). The 13 future Muruṇḍas along with low caste men, all of mleccha origin will enjoy it half 400 years (i.e. 200 years). The 11 Maunas will enjoy it 103 years. When they are overthrown by time there will be Kailakila kings. Then after the Kilakilas, Vindhyaśakti will reign. He will enter upon the earth after it has known those kings 96 years."

The Ābhīras and Gardabhins mentioned in the list are regarded as kings of foreign origin but we know almost nothing about them. The Yavanas or the Bactrian Greeks have been recently treated by M. Tarn, a recognised authority in classical studies. I propose to discuss here the problems concerning the Śaka, the Tuṣāra, the Muruṇḍa and the Hūṇa.

### *The Śaka Problem*

If we take the Puranic accounts literally, we have to admit that the Śaka conquerors preceded the Yavanas or the Greeks in India. At least they were elder contemporaries in their Indian adventures. The Puranic evidence has, however, not been given any credence for want of corroborative facts. The Chinese evidence has been relied upon to prove that the Śakas could not have entered India before the commencement of the 1st century B. C. The Greek rule had been established in the Punjab and in the Kabul valley about a century earlier. In fact this is regarded as the reason for

which the Śakas came to India not directly by the Kabul route, but from Drangiana which they had conquered in the middle of second century. Let us now examine the evidences again and see how far they are precise enough to admit of such interpretation.

The Greek writers from the time of Herodotus speak of the Śakas as a branch of the Scythic people which occupied Central Asia in early times. Herodotus says that the Persians used the designation Śaka in a loose way. Strabo (58 B. C.-21 A. D. ) tells us that the Caucasus separated the Sakai, the Scythes and the Seres in the North from the Indians in the South. Ptolemy in the second century B. C. says that the eastern frontier of the Sakai was Scythia.

The Old Persian Inscriptions speak more clearly of the Śakas than the Greek texts. Thus in the Behistun Inscription there is mention of Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhāra, Saka, Tathagush, Arachosia and Maka, and again after Parthia of Margiana, Tathagush and Saka provinces which revolted against Darius. In the Persepolis inscription we are told that the eastern provinces of the empire were Arachosia, India, Gandhara, Saka and Maka. In the Nakshi Rustum Inscription there is mention of Zranka (Drangiana), Arachosia, Tathagush, Gandhāra, India, Saka Haumavarka, Saka Tigrakhauda, and in the Gold Tablet Inscription of Darius we are told that his empire extended from Saka beyond Sogdiana (para-sugdam) to Ethiopia and from India to Sardis. The Saka Tigrakhauda or the "Sakas who wore pointed helmets" were according to Herodotus the neighbours of the Bactrians and most probably occupied the Jaxartes region. The Saka Haumavarka who were the same as the Amyrgian Scythians of Herodotus were those who had settled in the Persian Province of Drangiana. The Behistun and the Persepolis inscriptions really locate them near Gandhāra. The old Persian Inscriptions therefore make it clear that the Śakas were living near the frontiers of India long before the Greeks had come to that region.

The Indian literature speaks of them, but only at a time when the Greeks had settled in Bactria. This is the reason for which the Śakas are closely associated with the Yavanas in these texts, specially in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Manusmṛiti* and the *Mahābhārata*. But a particular chapter of the *Mahābhārata* inserted in the Bhīṣmaparva which gives the description of the Śākadvīpa or "the land of the Śakas" seems to bear an earlier stamp. It is said that there are seven mountains in Śākadvīpa, named Meru, Malaya, Jaladhara, Raivata, Śyāma, Durgasāila and Keśara. The land is divided into seven *varṣas*: *Mahākāśa* near Meru, *Kumudottara* near Malaya, *Sukumāra* near Jaladhara, *Kaumāra* near Raivata, *Manikāñcana* near Śyāma, *Maudākī* near Keśara and *Mahāpuruṣa* near Durgasāila. The text then says that there are four Janapadas or kingdoms in the land of the Śakas, *Maga* (or *Maṅga*), *Maśaka*, *Mānasa* and *Mandaga*. These regions are watered by different branches of the Ganges viz. *Sukumārī*, *Kumārī*, *Śītāśī*, *Venikā*, *Manijalā*, *Cakṣu* (i.e. *Vakṣu*), and *Vardhanikā*. Regarding the character of the people the text then says that the Magas are Brahmin by vocation, *Maśaks* Kṣatriya, the *Mānasas* Vaiśya and the *Mandagas* Sūdra.

According to Rapson this Śākadvīpa would be the name given to the lower Indus valley after the Śakas had settled there in the first century B. C. This identification has been suggested by the use of the word *dvīpa* in this connection. The word *dvīpa*, however, was used in the Puranic and Epic cosmology in a much broader sense and not in the narrow sense of island. Then again there is little doubt about the identification of the river *Vakṣu* (*Oxus*) which flowed through the country of the Śakas. Another river, the *Śītāśī*, may be the same as the *Śītā* which is the name given to the Yarkand river in some texts. According to an old notion all the four rivers, *Gaṅgā*, *Sindhu*, *Vakṣu* and *Śītā*, issued from the same source, the *Anavatapta* lake, and hence they could be known under the same name *Gaṅgā*. Of the four people mentioned above the

Maga reminds us of the Magians, the Maka of the old Persian inscriptions who according to Herodotus were a Median tribe. The Maśakas may be very well identified with the Massagetæ another Scythic people mentioned by Herodotus as a powerful and valiant people dwelling towards the east beyond the river Araxes over against the Issedonians. It may be noted that the Masakas are also described in the *Mahābhārata* as Kṣatriyas. The Mandagas or Madagas might have been the same as the Mada or the Medes. The names of two of the *varṣas* seem to correspond to things known from other sources. Kumudottara may be connected with the Komedoi of the Greek writers which extended from the Oxus to the river of Karategin. Mahākāśa reminds us of Akhasa which the classical authors place in Scythia. The difficulty in identifying the names of mountains and rivers is due to the fact that the old names have often been replaced by new ones in this region.

That the Śakas were known in India before the establishment of the Greek rule is also indirectly suggested by the Jaina account as preserved in the *Kālaḥcāryakathānaḥa*. In order to punish the autocratic Gardabhillas of Ujjayinī Kālaka sought for outside help. He could have gone to the Yavanas as well had they been settled in the upper Indus valley. But instead of doing that he went to the Sagakula i. e. the Śaka race beyond the Indus. He induced some of the Śaka chiefs to accompany him. They crossed the Indus in ships and went to Kathiawar. These chiefs first occupied the kingdom of Surāṣṭra and divided the country amongst themselves. Next they went up to Ujjayinī, imprisoned the Gardabhillā king and set up one of their chiefs as ruler there. In course of time (*kālāntareṇa*) Vikramāditya the king of Mālava ousted the Śaka dynasty and established his own era (58 B. C.). This dynasty also was destroyed by another Śaka ruler after 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (78 A. D.). Prof. Sten Konow has given full credence to this story. The route followed by the Śaka chiefs indicates that they were coming from the other side

of the Indus, probably from Seistan where Śaka settlements had been established already in the Achaemenian period. But how long did they rule in Ujjayinī before the rise of this legendary Vikramāditya in 58 B. C. is not known. The account vaguely says *kālāntareṇa* : after the lapse of some-time. Prof. Konow has referred to a late Jaina tradition which says that the Śakas ruled at Ujjayinī only for four years. Accordingly the Śaka occupation of Ujjayinī may be placed in 61-60 B. C. But the same account attributes a reign of only 13 years to the Gardabhillas. A little examination shows that it is only a distorted version of the Puranic accounts which however assign a reign of 183 years to the Śakas and 72 years to the Gardabhillas.

One of the oldest Śaka rulers of India, Maues had extended his rule up to Taxila and Gandhāra, but we do not know from which direction. Most of the scholars now agree that it was from the Śaka settlements in the lower Indus valley. But we should not forget that although some of his coins appear as imitations of the coins of Demetrios and Appollodotus the great majority of them bear Parthian influence in the regal formula—*Basileus basileun Megaloy Mayoy*. Orosius speaks of a Parthian invasion of India up to the Hydaspes by Mithradates I (171-138 B. C.). But this account has been given little credence for insufficient reasons.

If we attach less importance to the story of the foundation of a powerful Greek kingdom extending from the Kabul valley to the Punjab after the invasion of Demetrios, and Menander—a kingdom which would be a sort of impenetrable barrier against a possible Parthian or Śaka invasion from the side of Bactria, then we can explain things more clearly. The Śakas had undergone a great Parthian influence, the language they spoke was the Eastern Iranian dialect and they had rendered a great help in the foundation of the Arsacidan dynasty. So a possible Parthian invasion of the Punjab by Mithradates I, as Orosius tells us, might have brought the Śakas to the Punjab along the Kabul valley.

The Greek opposition would be futile in that case. The Śakas of Kathiawar and Ujjayinī represented an altogether different branch of the same people that had penetrated through the lower Indus valley at a much earlier period possibly with local help as the *Kālakācāryakathanaka* would have us believe.

What is then the importance of the Chinese account regarding the movement of the Śaka people from the region of Ta-hia? The annals of the former Han dynasty *Ts'ien Han shu* contain the following account which is now well known:

"Formerly when the Hiung-nu subjugated the Ta Yue-che, the latter migrated to the West and gained the dominion over Ta-hia whereupon the king of Sai moved south and ruled over Ki-pin. The Sai were scattered and at times formed several kingdoms. North-west of Shu-lei, the Heu-suen, Suen-tu and consanguinous nations are all descendants of the ancient Sai."

The Chinese word Sai was pronounced in Han times *Sek* and hence it is certain that the word was used to render the name of the Śakas (Greek Saces). The Ta Yue-ches were defeated by the Hiung-nus in 176 B. C. They ousted the Śakas from the Jaxartes region in about 160 B. C. The Śakas then migrated to Ta-hia (later Tokharestan). Pressed by the Wu-suns the Yue-ches moved to the south and occupied Ta-hia. It was then that the King of the Śakas was obliged to move further south and to go to Ki-pin. This must have taken place before 128 B.C.

The route to Ki-pin which the Śaka king followed is clearly stated. He passed the *Hien-tu* or the hanging passage while moving towards Ki-pin from his original seat in Ta-hia. This route was recognised by Chavannes and Sir Aurel Stein as the Bolor route through the Yasin valley. This was the route which was usually followed by the ancient travellers from the region of Wakhan to the Indus valley and to Kashmir and Udyāna.

If we follow this Chinese account literally, we are driven to two conclusions; the first, that the Śakas who were turned out of Ta-hia by the Yue-ches entered India by the Bolor route and the second, that Ki-pin which they conquered was Kashmir. The first conclusion has been discarded on the ground that the Bolor route was impracticable and the second has been rejected on the ground that Ki-pin could not be Kashmir but must be identified with Kabul-Kapiśā. It has therefore been supposed that the Śakas went south from Ta-hia and as it was impossible for them to enter the Kabul valley owing to the presence of the Greeks in that region they went westwards to the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan. From Seistan they entered India by the lower valley of the Indus in the first century B. C. and thence extended their influence northwards to the Kabul valley.

I think that this assumption is not necessary at all. The Śakas of Ta-hia seem to have represented an entirely different group and had no relation with the Śakas of Seistan. The Bolor route again was not probably so impracticable as has been supposed. At least it does not appear to have been impracticable in the end of the 4th century A. D. when the first Chinese traveller, Fa-hien and his associates came to India.

Then again the identification of Ki-pin with Kabul-Kapiśā is an impossibility. Lévi and Chavannes were the first to propose the identification of Ki-pin of the Chinese annals with Kashmir. They pointed out that in a number of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts the translators use Ki-pin for translating the name Kashmir up to 581 A.D. Since 581 A.D. the Buddhist translations as well as other Chinese documents use the name Ki-pin to denote Kapiśā and not Kashmir. In recent years there has been a tendency to take these conclusions too lightly. For example Tarn in his book "The Greeks in Bactria and India," while identifying Ki-pin with Kophene (Kabul), refers to Lévi only to point out that "the Chinese mixed up Kapiśā and Kashmir in their

Ki-pin." The Chinese writers made this confusion only after 581 A.D. as Ki-pin had by then become too old a name to convey a precise geographical import. But there is no ground to believe that the same confusion existed prior to 581 A.D. In the oldest Chinese translation of the *Milinda-pañha* which belong to the 4th century A.D. Kásmīra of the original text is twice rendered in Chinese as Ki-pin. The Chinese biography of Kumārajīva contains another corroborative evidence. Kumārajīva was taken from Kucha to Kashmir by his mother for proper education in the third quarter of the 4th century A.D. Kashmir was then a reputed centre of Sanskrit learning. While coming from the west they crossed the river Sin-t'əou (Sindhu) in order to go to Kashmir which is called Ki-pin. Of the description of Ki-pin which we get in the Chinese annals of the Han and Wei periods, the following points may be noted: (i) Ki-pin was to the south-east of Ta Yue-che i.e. Ta-hia. The kingdom of Nan-tu was at 9 days journey to its north-east and Wu-yi-shan-li to the south-west. Nan-tu seems to be \*Dar-du i.e. Darada. Wu-yi-shan-li which is a transcription of the name Alexandria has been identified with Kandahar. (ii) The valley of Ki-pin was surrounded by hill ranges on four sides. It was a flat country having a length of 800 li from east to west and a breadth of 300 li from the north to the south. These accounts seem to refer clearly to Kashmir and not to Kabul-Kapīśā. The name Ki-pin itself seems to suggest the same. In Han pronunciation the first word *Ki* was definitely a \**Ka* probably followed by some consonant which might have been a *s*. *Pin* was pronounced almost certainly in early time *pir* or *wir*. Hence Ki-pin clearly stood for \**Ka(s)-pir* or \**Ka(s)-wir*. This form of the name is also found in the early Greek records in which Kashmir is either Caspiri or Kaspeira. Ki-pin was thus a correct phonetic transcription of the old name of Kashmir. The Śakas of Ta-hia could not have come to Kashmir via Seistan and the lower Indus valley—they must have come there by the shorter route—i.e. the Bolor route from Ta-hia.

*The Tukhāra Problem*

The next problem is what I should like to call the Tukhāra or Tokharian problem. In the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas it is said that the Tuṣāra kings succeed the Yavanas in India. Their number is given as 14. According to the *Matsya* the world belonged to them for seven thousand years (*sapta-varṣa-sahasrāṇi*) whereas according to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* they ruled for *pañca-varṣa-śatāni* which may be interpreted either as five hundred years or as 105 years. Five hundred years would be too long a period for 14 kings and so it is just probable that they ruled only for 105 years. The *Matsya* account may be accordingly corrected as *sapta-varṣa-śatān-īha* and interpreted as 107 years. Some of the early Purāṇas give Tukhāra as a variant of Tuṣāra. It is certain that the cerebral was pronounced as *kha* when the name was adopted by the Puranic chroniclers. The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives the name as Tukhāra. The name is given in the same form by the *Mahābhārata* as well as by two old Buddhist texts, the *Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna* and the *Mahāmāyūrī*. The Chinese pilgrims tell us that the Tukhāra Buddhists like the Ceylonese had a special monastery built for them at the Mahābodhi in the 7th century. In the same century Bāṇa writes in his *Harṣacarita* that Harṣa used to get taxes from the mountainous and inaccessible region of the Tuṣāras (*atra paramēśvareṇa tuṣāraśailabhuvō durgāyāḥ grhītaḥ karaḥ*). This only shows that Tukhāra as a distinct people and the land of the Tukhāras (Tokharestan) as a distinct country in the mountainous regions beyond the frontiers of India were known to the Indians as late as the middle of the 7th century A.D.

The classical authors mention the people under the same name. Thus Pliny says—"After the Attacores (the same as Ottorokorras) come the Phuni (Phruni), Thocari and Casiri (which seems to be a mistake for Caspiri), the last belonging to India." Ptolemy speaks of them as Thagouroi, Periegetes (2nd century) and all later writers up to the 4th century as

Tochari. The Tokharians therefore according to these sources were a central Asian people living to the north of the Caspian or Kashmir.

The Chinese sources of the Han period speak of a people named Ta-hia. They were living as early as the 2nd century B.C. in the Oxus region. The two Chinese words Ta and hia were pronounced in early times as D'a-g'a and it stood in all probability for the name Dogār or Tūkhār. From the 5th century the name appears in the Chinese annals as T'u-ho-lo \*T'u-zuo-la i.e. Tūkhāra. The king of that country sent ambassadors to China in 453, 457 and 465 A.D. At the time when Hiuan-tsang visited the country it had passed into the hands of the Western Turks. The pilgrim tells us that Tokharestan in that period was a very extensive kingdom. It reached the Tsong-ling (the Pamirs) on the east, Persia on the west, the Hindukush on the south and the Iron Pass or Derbend in the north. The Oxus flowed through this country. Henceforth contact with China remained almost uninterrupted for about two centuries. It is in this period that the Tibetan texts speak of the country of Tho-gar or Tho-dgar and of the Buddhist monks of that country who had gone to Tibet to participate in the work of translation of Buddhist texts. The Uigurs also speak of them as Toḡri and of their country as Twḡrstn i.e. Tokharestan.

We therefore see that from about the second century B.C. to about the middle of the 7th century A.D. all sources of information, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Chinese concur in recognising a people called Tūkhāra living in the country which came to be known in later times as Tokharestan. The original seat of the people was the Upper valley of the Oxus in the region of Badakshan. The Puranic sources would have us believe that kings of this Tūkhāra origin conquered India from the Greeks and set up their own rule. Fourteen of their rulers reigned in India for a little over hundred years.

These are precisely the rulers who are designated Kushan by the modern historians of India. The Greek legends on the coins of these rulers give them the name Korsano Kosano etc. and the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Kuṣana, Khuṣana and Kuṣana. The name of a king of this group of rulers called Mahārāja Guṣana may be connected with the same name. The occurrence of the initial letter as *g*, *k*, *kh*, and Greek *k* and *x* shows that it was probably a guttural fricative which could not be exactly rendered into an Indian form. Prof. Konow probably rightly considers that the word is an Iranian form with the genitive plural suffix of *āna* which is used as a rule with the Iranian ethnic names. In that case the base would be Guṣa or Kuṣa. In fact one of the Kushan rulers, Kanishka is described as a member of the Kuśa race in a Buddhist text ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa who according to the Buddhist tradition was contemporaneous with that great ruler.

In order to explain the origin of this family name an evidence contained in the old Han annals has been referred to. According to it the Kuṣanas would be a branch of the Ta Yue-che nomads of whom a branch was called Kuei-shuang. The passage which contains this evidence occurs in the annals of the later Han dynasty *Heou Han shu*. Let us consider this passage again :

"Previously the Yue-ches were conquered by the Hiung-nus. They then went away to Ta-hia and divided this kingdom into five hi-heous namely Hieu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tuen and Tu-mi. More than hundred years after this the hi-heou of Kuei-shuang named K'ieu-tsieu-k'io attacked and vanquished the four other he-heou, called himself king and the name of his kingdom become Kuei-shuang. He invaded Ngan-si, conquered Kao-fu, became victorious over P'u-ta and Ki-pin and possessed these kingdoms entirely. K'ieu-tsieu-k'io died at the age of more than 80 years. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his place, in his turn he conquered T'ien-chu (India) and established there a chief to administer it. From this time the Yue-ches

became extremely powerful. All the different countries call their king, the king of Kuei-shuang, but the Han call them Ta Yue-che retaining their ancient title."

The names of the two kings K'ieu-tsieu-k'io and Yen-kao-chen have been corrected as K'ieu-tsie-kie and Yen-kao-mi by no less a Chinese authority than Prof. Pelliot. When these corrections are admitted, the names appear in their archaic pronunciation as K'iəu-dz'iəu-kiäp and läm-kau-mjie. These may be restored accurately as Kuju Kapa and Vema Kaßi which are exactly the names of Kujula Kadaphises and Wema Kadphises. According to the latest interpretation of the passage it would appear that the five hi-heous belonged to the old kingdom of Ta-hia or the Tukhāras. They temporarily became vassals of the Ta Yue-che, but later on the hi-heou of Kuei-shuang supplanted the Yue-che rule and established his own. He was therefore a Tukhāra, but the Chinese writers followed the old custom and continued to call them Ta Yue-che. Thus Kujulo Kadphises who supplanted the Yue-che rule was primarily a Tukhāra and secondarily a Kuei-shuang. So far as the first appellation is concerned the Indian sources amply confirm it. It was the Tukhāras who followed the Greeks in India and they were not known by any other name. As Chinese evidence shows, Kuei-shuang was the name of the principality over which Kujula ruled as a hi-heou. This was the name given to the kingdom founded by him after the overthrow of the Yue-che rule simply because the nucleus of that kingdom was his own principality. Kuei-shuang was not an ethnic name and hence the Sanskrit sources do not mention it but retain the name Tukhāra.

The connection between Kuei-shuang and Kuṣaṇa is not very clear. Kuei-shuang, in old pronunciation Kjwei-siang, was something like Khuṣaṇa or Kuṣaṇa. Kadphises I uses both Koṣano and Xosano on his coins. In the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 there is mention of a Mahārāja Guṣana and in the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 there is mention of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra

Khuṣaṇa. The titles show that they were two different rulers but who they were, we do not know. There is again reference to the Guṣaṇavaṃśa and its scion General Lala in the year 18 of Kanīṣka in the Manikiala Stone Inscription.

This uncertainty in the use of the name Kuṣaṇa is more the reason why we should attach greater importance to the ethnic name Tukhāra given not only in the Purāṇas but also in all other sources.

We have said that the Tukhāras were not the Ta Yue-ches. They continued to be so called by the Chinese historians by mistake. The Ta Yue-ches had probably merged into the Tukhāra people and adopted the local culture. This is the reason why they are only vaguely remembered by the Chinese historians. They are last mentioned only in connection with the Kidarites. A Chinese annal (Pei-she) tell us that king Ki-to-lo (Kidāra) of Ta Yue-che, driven by the Juan-juan shifted to the town of Po-lo (B'ak-la : Balkh) and then conquered Northern India and the 4 kingdoms to the north of Gāndhāra. The annal then says that Kidāra had asked his son to occupy the city of Fu-leu-sha (Puruṣapura) and that this is the reason why the kingdom of his son was called Siao Yue-che or Little Yue-che.

This brings us to another question, that of the Little Yue-ches. Some scholars are still inclined to hold that Kanīṣka belonged to the Little Yue-che and that he entered India from Chinese Turkestan by a different route. The late Baron de Staël Holstein was the first to put forward this theory. He was of opinion that the Kidarites were called Little Yue-che because the tradition of the Little Yue-che was being perpetuated at Peshawar by the successors of Kanīṣka. But we have seen that the Chinese text is quite clear on this point. The text first speaks of the Great Yue-che kingdom of Kidāra then of the kingdom founded at Peshawar by his son. The latter was called Little Yue-che so that it could be distinguished from the kingdom of the father. The annalist had no knowledge of the fact that there was a king called Kanīṣka and that his capital was at

Peshawar. And he was writing in the middle of the 5th century A.D.

There is a slightly earlier evidence on the Little Yue-ches. In a Buddhist-text translated in 413 Kumārajīva translates the name Tukhāra as Siao-Yue-che or Little Yue-che. Kumārajīva was a native of Central Asia and therefore the information supplied by him on this point should be seriously considered. Prof. Pelliot would like to explain it thus: "After the rupture of relation between China and the West in the last quarter of the 3rd century the Great Yue-ches had been forgotten in China. Only the Little Yue-ches were spoken of. As Kumārajīva was writing for the Chinese he used the terminology known to them in his times and rendered the name Tukhāra as Little Yue-che because they were the only Yue-ches whose name was still understood. Otherwise it is inconceivable that a native of Central Asia would explain the name Tukhāra as Little Yue-che who had never come to Ta-hia and had been driven by the Hiung-nus to the South-East to Kan-su".

There is therefore no reason to think that Kaniṣka was a Little Yue-che. The Little Yue-ches had lost their identity amongst the barbarians of South-Eastern China just as the Great Yue-ches had lost theirs amongst the Tukhāras. Besides these Little Yue-ches had no connection either with Ta-hia (Tukhāra) or with Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa).

There is another point to which I should like to draw your attention in this connection. It is the confusion in late literature between two different names the Tukhāra and the Turuṣka. In the *Garuḍa* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* we have Turuṣka and Turaṣka in the place where we should have expected Tukhāra or Tuṣāra. Kalhaṇa while speaking of the Shahi rulers of Afghanistan who claimed descent from Kaniṣka calls them Turuṣka. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* probably refers to the same Shahi rulers as Turuṣka sākhī (959-Turuṣkāstu sākhaṃ syuḥ). But we know definitely that the Turuṣkas were the Turks and different from the Tukhāras. In a Chinese-Sanskrit lexicon of

the 7th century A.D. which I edited a few years ago, the Sanskrit name of the Tu-kiues (Turks) is given as *Truṣka-gaṇa*. Tokharestan had passed into the hands of the Western Turks in the 7th century and since then it was natural for all late Sanskrit writers to make an easy confusion between *Tukhāra* and *Turuṣka* just as the earlier Chinese writers had done in calling the *Tukhāras* *Yue-che* after the *Yue-che* conquest of the country.

### *The Muruṇḍa Problem*

Although the *Muruṇḍas* are regarded as a separate dynasty of rulers who succeeded the *Tukhāras*, some scholars would consider them as identical with the *Śakas*. Sten Konow explains the word as a *Śaka* word meaning "Lord", "Master" and takes it to be identical with the Chinese expression *Sai-wang* "the king of the *Śakas*" which the annalists use in connection with the *Śaka* migration from Central Asia. Konow's reading and interpretation of the word *muroḍa* in the Zeda inscription is far from certain. Its connection with *Muruṇḍa* is still more improbable.

On the contrary the *Purāṇas* consider the *Muruṇḍas* as quite distinct from the *Śakas*. All of them agree in stating that the *Muruṇḍas* followed the *Tukhāras* in India and that 13 of their kings ruled in India along with low caste men, all of *Mleccha* origin. The duration of their rule was according to some sources 400 years whereas according to other sources 200 years. Who were these *Muruṇḍas*?

We know that the *Muruṇḍas* were in India before the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta tells us that the *Muruṇḍas* were amongst those who accepted the vassalage of the Guptas. The name next occurs in the Khoh copperplate Inscription of the beginning of the sixth century. We are told there that the mother of the *Mahārāja* *Sarvanātha* of *Ucchakalpa* was *Muruṇḍadevī*, also called *Muruṇḍasvāminī*. She was so called probably because she was a princess of the *Muruṇḍa* dynasty.

The mention of the Muruṇḍas is found in earlier texts too. Prof. Lévi was the first to deal with these texts. The Chinese annals have preserved the record of a political mission which was sent to India from the Hinduised kingdom of Fu-nan in Indo-China in the 3rd century A.D. We are told that in the period 222-277 A.D. the king of Fu-nan sent one of his relatives to India. The ambassador started from Fu-nan, went out of the mouth of the river Teu-kieu-li (Takkola?) and following the great bend of the littoral right towards the north-west entered a big gulf which bordered on different kingdoms. At the end of a little more than a year he entered the mouth of the river of T'ien-chu (India). He went up this river, covered a distance of about 7000 li and arrived at his destination. The king of India was taken by surprise to learn that there were such men on the distant shores of the ocean. He sent with him various presents to the king of Fu-nan and amongst them there were four horses of the Yue-che country. The Indian ambassadors who went to Fu-nan along with this mission were met by the Chinese ambassador at the Funanese court. Being questioned he told the latter that the title of the king of India was *Meu-lun* and that the capital where he resided was guarded by two consecutive circles of ramparts and that the ditches were constantly fed by the water carried by canals from the river. The description of the city and the palace as given by the Indian ambassadors reminds one of the splendour of Pāṭaliputra.

The Chinese name, as Prof. Lévi has shown, is a faithful transcription of the name Muruṇḍa. Ptolemy locates the Marundai in the same region, in Eastern India, on the right bank of the Ganges. The Jaina version of the *Śiṃhāsana-dvātrimśikā* tells us that a Maruṇḍa-rāja was the king of Kānyakubja. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga tells us that the Maruṇḍarāja had his capital at Pāṭaliputra. Another Jaina legend would have us believe that Pādaliptasūri who was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna had cured a Muruṇḍarāja from a serious disease and converted him to Jainism.

Although these evidences are few and insufficient they are conclusive enough to prove the existence of Muruṇḍa kings in India from the Kushan period up to the Gupta period. The geography of Ptolemy and the Chinese evidence discussed above definitely show that the Muruṇḍas were established in Eastern India in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. and that they possessed at least two important cities, Kānyakubja and Pāṭaliputra, the latter being probably their capital till the rise of the Guptas.

It is therefore permissible to suggest that the Muruṇḍas had come to India along with Tukhāras and that they had set up a kingdom in Eastern India first as vassals of the Tukhāras and then on their downfall as independent rulers. Their connection with the Yue-ches is suggested by the present of the four horses of the Yue-che country which they sent to Fu-nan. Then again when Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* connects them with Lampāka (Lamghan) it does not mean that they were known in his times. He got this information from some older sources which knew that the Muruṇḍas had come by way of Lamghan. That was not the way followed by the Śakas in course of their invasion of India. The Śakas again had gone up to Eastern India and none of the old sources connect the Śakas with Pāṭaliputra. The Muruṇḍas therefore in all probability were a Tukhāra tribe like the Kushans and partially filled up the gap in the political history of India from the downfall of the Imperial Kushans to the rise of the Guptas. This fact was known to the Puranic chroniclers.

It seems we can trace the Muruṇḍas in Central Asia alongside the Tukhāras. The classical writers such as Strabo, Pliny and Periegetes speak of a people called Phrynoi who lived near the Tochari. If we are to believe the evidence of Pliny, the Phrynoi or Phruni lived to the south of the mountain Attacoris, the Tochari lived to the south of the Phrynoi and the Casiri i.e. Caspiri or Kashmir to the south of the Tochari. The name of the Phrynoi could be very well rendered in Sanskrit as Mruṇḍa or Muruṇḍa. The Puranic chro-

niclers had probably some hesitation in rendering the name as such. Thus the *Vāyu-purāṇa* which is in many respects one of the most trustworthy texts renders the name not exactly as Muruṇḍa or Muraṇḍa, but as Puruṇḍa or Puraṇḍ. The cerebralisation of the original dental final does not really make any difficulty as it has other examples too.

### *The Hūṇa Problem*

The Hūṇa question, I believe, still remains a problem in Indian history. The reason is this. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* in connection with the digvijaya of Raghu speaks of the Hūṇas as living on the banks of the Vakṣu or the Oxus. Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya in a very learned monograph on Kālidāsa has tried to establish the priority of Kālidāsa over Aśvaghoṣa in the field of artificial poetry. He is of opinion that Kālidāsa lived in the first century B.C. If we accept this theory we have to admit that the Hūṇas were known in India already before the Christian era. On the contrary we have so long maintained that the Hūṇas were not known in India before the fifth century. They appeared for the first time on the Indian soil in the time of Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.) under the distinctive name Hūṇa. They were at that time driven away. They appeared again towards the end of the same century and this time succeeded in establishing an independent Hūṇa kingdom in the Punjab. They ruled up to the second quarter of the sixth century as paramount rulers when they received a crushing defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman of Malwa.

These Hūṇas who appeared in India in the fifth century A.D. were the Hepthalite Huns or the White Huns. Hepthal, Chinese Ye-t'a, was the eponymous hero of the race who in 484 A.D. defeated and killed Peroz, the king of Persia. In Iran the principal centres of these Huns were Badakshan and Bamiyan. It was in this region that Song-yun met them in the beginning of the sixth century. It was from this region that they penetrated into India. It has been so long maintained that they were the only Huns known in India.

But what about the old Hiung-nus of the Chinese annals? After they had driven the Yue-ches away from the eastern part of Chinese Turkestan in the second century B.C. they continued to play an important political rôle in the history of Central Asia for long centuries. Such a powerful people must have been known to the Greek, Latin and Sanskrit writers long before the appearance of the Hephthalites. But under what name were they known?

The Indian literature is not silent on the Hūṇas. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Hūṇas and generally in association with the Pāraśikas (*hunāḥ pāraśikāḥ saha*). Amongst the Purāṇas the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Viṣṇu* only mention them. But none of these texts can be definitely placed before the 5th century A.D. The *Rāmāyaṇa* which bears the stamp of a more definite age does not mention the Hūṇas. The oldest translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī* which belongs to the 5th century does not either speak of the Hūṇas. Both these sources however know the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas.

The classical writers do not speak of the Hunnus before the sixth century. The earlier writers mention another people which may be identified with them. Thus Orosius who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century or towards the end of the 4th says: "Between the sources of the Ganges and those of the river Ottorogorras, situated to the north in the region of the Paropanisades mountains, the Taurus mountain extends. The Caucasus mountain extends between the sources of the Ottorogorras and the town of Ottorogorras through the country of the Chuni, Scythes and Gandarides." The variants given in the different manuscripts for Chuni are Chunos, Funos, Hunnos, Hunnus.

The Hiung-nu of the Chinese annals looks like the Hunnus of the Latin writers of the sixth century and like the Hūṇa of the Sanskrit literature and inscriptions mentioned from the end of the fifth century onwards. We should however bear in mind that Hiung-nu is the pronunciation of about the same period. The earlier pronunciation of the Chinese name was *xi'ong-nuo*. It commenced

with a guttural fricative which disappeared in later pronunciation. This guttural fricative was transcribed by the earlier classical writers as *Khu*. Towards the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth it had already changed into *Hu*. It is to this stage that the Latin Hunnus and Sanskrit Hūṇa belong.

It is thus clear that although the Hiung-nu hordes might have been known in India under a different name they could not be mentioned as Hūṇa before the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In this connection I would propose to make another correction of a common error. A Roman historian of the 4th century tells us that in *circa* 358-360 A.D. the king of the Chionitae named Grumbates helped king Shapur II of Persia against the Romans in the siege of Amida. Cunningham suggested that the Chionitae were either the Kushans or the Tokharoi. But we have just seen that they were probably the same as the Chuni or the Hiung-nus. It is possible that they were in this period quite mixed up with the Tokharoi but they cannot be on any account called Kushan.

The Puranic accounts tell us that the Muruṇḍa kings were followed in India by the Hūṇa rulers. Although some texts give the variant Mauna, Hūṇa seems to be the correct reading. They had eleven rulers who reigned for three hundred years. From the Inscriptions however we know only of two Hūṇa rulers namely Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. They reigned from about 490 A.D. to 540 A.D. Yaśodharman's victory only put an end to the growth of the Hūṇas as an imperial power in India. The Hūṇa rule must have continued in the Punjab for several centuries that followed and the Puranic chroniclers are probably right in attributing to them a reign of about 300 years. It was the disintegration of the Hūṇa kingdom in the Punjab that led to the rise of different ruling clans in Northern India.

The problem of the Hūṇas is interconnected with the problem of the rise of some of the early medieval dynasties in Northern India and although these problems fall outside

the scope of our section I shall take the liberty of making some suggestions regarding them here. I will not enter into the origin of the Rajput clans who are now regarded by most of the scholars as of Scythic or Hūṇa origin. My remarks will be confined only to the consideration of certain facts which have not been so far properly noted. The first of this concerns the origin of the Gurjaras. They are looked upon as a Hūṇa race although their name has not been as yet traced to any Central Asian source. In order to do this we have probably to go to the old race movements in that region. The Han annals speak of three different people the Hiung-nu, the Wu-sun and the Yue-che. When the Hiung-nus turned out the Yue-ches from their original home, the latter were compelled to migrate first to the country of the Wu-sun which was in the region of the Ili river. The Wu-sun subsequently drove the Yue-ches out of their country with the help of the Hiung-nus. We are told in this connection that the minor king of the Wu-sun was brought up amongst the Hiung-nus. It is just possible that the Wu-sun had Hun affinities. The old pronunciation of the name 'Uo-suen in all likelihood commenced with a consonant which was later on dropped and that consonant was most probably a guttural. In the 4th century the name was something like *Gusur* which gave rise to the name Gujar. The Wu-sun or the Gujars must have moved to India along with the Huns in the fifth century A.D. and on the downfall of the Hun kingdom set up their own rule.

The Turks were also of Hun origin. The ancestors of the Turks were a group of Hiung-nu families bearing the clan name Assena. The word *Türk* in old Turkish meant "mighty." The Chinese name *Tu-kiue* was based on a Mongol plural *Türk-küt*. The Sanskrit name *Turuṣka* was established through such intermediate forms as *Turuk*, *Turukku*. The Turkish power rose in the 6th century and in the 7th century, shortly after 638 A.D., the chief of the Turks drove back the Persians to the West and conquered all the old Hephthalite dominions up to the frontiers

of Kabul. The Turks had taken Balkh and Herat as early as the year 589 and in 599 we hear that they were assisting their vassals the Kushans and the Hephthalites against the Armenians and the Persians.

The Turks had a hierarchical organisation beginning with the princes of the blood up to the officer of high ranks. The first was called *teghin* who were princes of the blood. The officers of the highest official rank were called Kulu-chür. It was suggested long ago that the Sanskrit word Thākura was an adaptation of the Turkish word *teghin*. It is just possible that the dynastic name Kalachuri is also of Turkish origin. The founders of the dynasty were at first the Kuluchür or the highest Turkish officials. They had set up an independent kingdom when the central power had weakened. It is to be noted in this connection that the Kalachuris claimed descent from Sahasrabāhu Arjuna. In spite of the fact that the latter is celebrated in Indian mythology he reminds us of Assena from whom the innumerable Turkish hordes claimed their descent. If we thus assume that the Turks had come to India along with the Huns or shortly after them, we can explain a significant reference to them in a Haihaya Inscription. We are told in this inscription that Kokkalla "plundered the treasuries of Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Konkana and Śākambhari kings and also those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families." The Gurjara-Pratihāras claimed descent from the Raghu family. But who were those born of the Turuṣkas? I believe that they were the Kalachuris and such other Turkish tribes that had followed the Huns in India.

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I have now come to the end of my address. If I have not quite solved the problems, I hope, I have succeeded in impressing on you that the problems exist. The migration of the Central Asian nomads to India is an essential corollary to the Indo-Iranian conquest which brought the Vedic civilisation to this country. The Central Asian nomads represented other ramifications of the same civilisation that

spread from eastern Iran right up to the frontiers of China through mountain gorges and desert sands. Hence their contribution to the development of Indian civilisation increased its complexity by introducing traits that were analogous but distinct in forms. This phenomenon repeated itself almost in every age throughout the period with which we are just now concerned. I therefore believe that not only the political history but also the history of the art, society and religion of the entire period has to be studied against this wider background. Only then we will be in a position to follow step by step the evolution of our great civilisation.

## King Sūryavarman I of Kambuja

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Sūryavarman I played a prominent part in the history of Kambuja at the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. and we possess quite a large number of inscriptions belonging to his reign. But there are many obscure points in his history, on some of which important theories have been propounded in very recent times. It is necessary to review them in order to find out to what extent, if any, the prevailing views about the life and times of Sūryavarman I require revision and modification.

### 1. *The struggle for the throne.*

Sūryavarman suddenly appears on the stage of Kambuja politics on the death of Jayavarman V, the last ruling member of the illustrious family founded by Indravarman. This event took place in 923 Ś. (= 1001 A.D.) and in that very year Udayādityavarman I as well as Sūryavarman issued inscriptions as rulers.<sup>1</sup> Two years later another ruler Jayavīravarman appears on the scene. All these clearly indicate that the death of Jayavarman V was followed by a dispute for succession and there were at least three claimants for the throne.

Until recently the view was generally held that Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman were identical. It was first propounded by Aymonier who believed that the new ruler at first assumed the latter name, and changed it, after a few years, for the former. M. Finot found a corroboration of this in the fact that both these rulers are expressly said

<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions of this period of civil war, referred to in this article, are arranged chronologically in *BEFEO.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 422-425.

in their records to have ascended the throne in 924 Ś. (=1002 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> M. Coedès has, however, demonstrated<sup>3</sup> that this view is untenable. He has referred, in the first place, to an inscription engraved on a stele found at Pràsàt Khnà, which incidentally mentions that a family of *chowrie*—bearers served thirteen kings from Jayavarman II to Sūryavarman I. Now there are only twelve kings during this period if we regard Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman as identical, and we get the requisite number 13 only if we regard them as separate rulers. This inference is supported by an analysis of the records bearing the names of these two rulers. The name of Sūryavarman appears in records bearing dates (in Śaka era) 923, 924, 928, 930, 933 and the following years, while Jayavīravarman issued records dated 925, 927 and 928. It is thus no longer possible to support Aymonier's view that Jayavīravarman was the name assumed by Sūryavarman during the first few years of his reign. Further, an analysis of the findspots of the inscriptions bearing these two names, and dated between 923 and 929, shows that while those of Jayavīravarman are generally found in the west, in Angkor region, those of Sūryavarman are confined to the north-eastern part of Kambuja.

We must, therefore, hold that Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman were different persons and both contested the throne of Kambuja. As mentioned above both claim to have ascended the throne in 924 Ś. This creates no difficulty so far as Jayavīravarman is concerned, for his earliest record is dated 925 Ś., and we may easily presume that he proclaimed himself king one year earlier. But as we have one record dated 923 expressly mentioning Sūryavarman as the ruler it is not easy to understand the statement in the later records that he ascended the throne in 924 Ś.

An explanation is probably to be found in the attitude of these rulers to Udayādityavarman I. Two records of

<sup>2</sup> BEFEO., Vol. XXVIII, p. 73, f.n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> BEFEO., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 420 ff.

this king, both dated 923, have been found at Koh Ker and Prāsāt Khnà, in the northern part of Kambuja. No record of his of any later date has yet been found. According to the Prāsāt Khnà<sup>4</sup> Inscription Udayādityavarman's mother was the elder sister of the queen of Jayavarman V, the preceding king, and the younger sister of Rājapativarman, the general of the same king. This relationship is not, of course, such as would make us believe, without further evidence, that Udayādityavarman was the legitimate heir to the throne. But it proves in any case that he was related to Jayavarman V, and this cannot be said of either Sūryavarman or Jayavīravarman. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that Udayādityavarman succeeded Jayavarman V immediately after his death in 923 Ś. Sūryavarman certainly, and Jayavīravarman probably, contested this accession, and Udayādityavarman was defeated and probably killed in 924 Ś. When, after his death, the struggle for the throne was confined between the two other rivals, both chose to regard Udayādityavarman as the legitimate heir and counted their accession to power only from 924 Ś. the date of his death. This is the only plausible explanation of the fact that while the record of Sūryavarman as king is actually dated 923 Ś. the date of his accession to the throne is given in several records of later years as 924 Ś.

Whether Sūryavarman contested the throne immediately after the death of Jayavarman V or rebelled against Udayādityavarman I after the latter had ascended the throne is not definitely known. But the second view seems probable. Verse 7 of the Prah Khan Inscription might throw some light on this point, but unfortunately its meaning is not quite clear. Referring to Sūryavarman it says:—

*"Raṇastho rājasāṅkīrṇād rājño rājyaṁ jahāra yaḥ |"*

Finot who originally edited this inscription<sup>5</sup> translates the passages as follows:—

"He took away in battle the sovereignty of a king mixed

4 BEFEO., Vol. XI, p. 402.

5 BEFEO., Vol. IV, p. 672.

with other kings." The crucial word in the verse is 'rāja-saṅkīrṇād' which qualifies 'rājño.' Finot's translation 'mixed with other king' does not seem to convey much. According to Sanskrit lexicons the word 'saṅkīrṇa' means also 'intoxicated' and 'of mixed caste', while *saṅkīrṇa-yuddha* means a 'confused fight,' 'a melee.' It is, therefore, possible to interpret the verse so as to mean that Sūryavarman seized the kingdom by defeating its ruler who was either of impure origin or of a haughty character, or because there was a confused fighting for it among many kings. In other words, he justified his action on the ground that the king was an undesirable person or that there were many aspirants to the throne whose mutual quarrels led to a state of chaos and confusion in the kingdom. But whatever interpretation we accept, and irrespective of the question whether the pleas put forward by Sūryavarman are true or not, the verse in question seems to indicate that Sūryavarman fought with one who was generally recognised as king. This king was most probably Udayādityavarman I. Whether Sūryavarman raised a revolt against him because he was considered undesirable or stood as a claimant to the throne when the power and authority of Udayādityavarman was being challenged by others, it is difficult to say. But that Udayādityavarman ruled for some time before Sūryavarman entered the field against him seems to be the most reasonable view.

The dated records of Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman, referred to above, prove beyond doubt that both ruled in different parts of Kambuja at least up to the year 928. Subsequently Jayavīravarman was defeated and Sūryavarman ruled over the whole of Kambuja, as is proved by his numerous records. Some light is thrown on the struggle between these two rivals by an inscription discovered at Tuol Don Srei which states that Sūryavarman had to carry on a struggle for nine years.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps this refers to his

6 BEFEO., Vol. XXXIV, p. 427.

fight with Jayavīravarman. In that case we may assume that this contest went on from 924 Ś. to 932 Ś. when Jayavīravarman was finally defeated and Sūryavarman became master of the whole kingdom. This view is supported by the ten inscriptions, all dated 933 Ś., eight of which are engraved on the pillars of the *Gopuram* leading to the inner court of the royal palace of Angkor Thom, and two on gateways of a neighbouring building.<sup>7</sup> They contain the identical text of an oath, and the names of district officers numbering more than four thousand, who took it in the presence of the sacred fire, the *ācāryas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* offering unswerving and life-long homage and allegiance to king Sūryavarman and dedicating their lives to his service. These officers swore that they "shall not honour any other king, shall never be hostile (to their king) and shall not be the accomplices of any enemy." This somewhat extraordinary record may not unreasonably be assumed to indicate the termination of the civil war and an attempt on the part of the victorious king to take effective steps to prevent its recurrence.

## 2. *The origin of Sūryavarman*

Sūryavarman, who thus succeeded in defeating all his rivals, does not appear to have any legitimate claim to the throne. Long after he had been firmly seated on the throne claims were made to connect him, though remotely, with the old royal families. The *Prāsāt Kev Inscription*<sup>8</sup> says that he was born in the family of Indravarman. The *Phnom Pra Viḥar*<sup>9</sup> Inscription repeats the same thing and adds that his queen Śrī Vīralakṣmī was born in the royal line of Śrī Haṛṣavarman and Śrī Īśānavarman. This is corroborated by *Prāsāt Khnà Inscription*.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand

7 *BEFEO.*, Vol. XIII (6), p. 11.

8 *ISCC.*, p. 97.

9 Aymonier—*Cambodge*, Vol. II, pp. 208-9.

10 *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, p. 196.

the Vat Thipedi Inscription<sup>11</sup> connects him with the maternal family of Indravarman. The Lovek Inscription<sup>12</sup> also probably refers to Sūryavarman as descended from the maternal family of Jayavarman V, but as a portion of the verse is missing, one cannot be sure of the interpretation. These vague statements seem to indicate that Sūryavarman had no legitimate claim to the throne by his relationship with any of his immediate predecessors, though he and his queen probably belonged to aristocratic families which claimed some relationship, however remote, with the royal family of Indravarman.

It is necessary, in this connection, to discuss the theory propounded by M. Coedès,<sup>13</sup> that Sūryavarman was the son of a Malyan king. This view is based on a passage in *Cāmaḍevīvaṃsa*, a Pali chronicle composed about the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. It is recorded in this chronicle that the king of Kambuja, the son of the king of Siridhammanagara, attacked Haripuñjaya (Lamphun in N. Siam) about twenty years before its inhabitants emigrated to Sudhammapura (Thaton in Burma). This latter event, which is also referred to in other chronicles, probably took place about 1056-7 A.D. The king of Kambuja who took Haripuñjaya must have therefore ruled about 1036 A.D., and Coedès therefore argues that he should be identified with Sūryavarman I. In support of his view that Sūryavarman was the son of the king of Siridhammanagara or Ligor in Malay Peninsula, Coedès points out (1) that he had no relationship with the preceding rulers of Kambuja viz. Jayavarman V and Udayādityavarman I; (2) that he was the first Kambuja king to assume the title *Kaṃtvan* which is derived from the Malay word *tuan* (chief); (3) that he was a follower of Buddhism of which Siridhammanagara (also called Nagara-Śrī-Dharmarāja) was a stronghold; (4) that according to the chronicles the king of Śrī-Dharma-

11 *Melange S. Lévi*, p. 213.

12 *ISCC.*, p. 122.

13 *BEFEO.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 24-25.

rāja had conquered Lavo (Lopburi) and it is from this town that the king of Kambuja proceeded to invade Haripuñjaya; and (5) that the earliest Khmer inscriptions found at Lopburi belong to the time of Sūryavarman.

Cœdès' view is undoubtedly very ingenious and seductive, but is open to some very serious objections. In the first place, although many of the records of Sūryavarman, as noted above, refer to his connection with the old ruling families of Kambuja, not the least reference is made anywhere to the fact that his father was a ruling prince. It may be argued that the court-poets did not like to refer to his foreign origin, but this could have hardly prevented them from dilating on his royal family, at least in a general way. Secondly, as Cœdès has himself pointed out, the early records of Sūryavarman all come from the north-eastern region while those of his rival Jayavīravarman belong to the Angkor region in the west.<sup>14</sup> This shows that he first established his power in the eastern regions and had no authority in the west. This is hardly compatible with the view that he was the son of a local ruler in Malay Peninsula and must have therefore presumably invaded Kambuja from the west. Besides, we must remember that *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* is not a historical work and its statements must be accepted with caution. Further, the date of the invasion of Haripuñjaya by the king of Kambuja, arrived at by piecing together a large number of scattered data in the chronicles cannot be fully relied upon. On the whole, therefore it is difficult to regard Cœdès' view as anything more than a mere tentative hypothesis.

### 3. *Social and religious activities.*

Sūryavarman had a great leaning towards Buddhism, for his inscriptions contain invocation to Buddha along with that to Śiva and his posthumous name was Nirvāṇa-pada. He issued edicts containing regulation about monasteries in

which it is laid down that the ascetics and Buddhist monks should offer to the king the merits of their piety.<sup>15</sup> But although he might have adopted the Buddhist faith, he did not give up the official Śaiva creed and constructed both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples.

The Pra Khan Ins.<sup>16</sup> contains the following verse about Sūryavarman :—

“*Bhāṣyādi-caraṇā kāvya-pāṇiṣ=śaḍ-darśanendriyā/  
Yanmatir-dharmmaśāstrādi-mastakā jaṅgamāyata/*”

This refers to the king's proficiency in Bhāṣya, Kāvya, Six Systems of Indian Philosophy and Dharmaśāstra. Other records refer to his knowledge of *Atharvaveda*, Yoga and Pāṇini's Grammar. Even allowing for the exaggeration of the court-poet, we may regard Sūryavarman as a learned scholar. This intimate acquaintance with the orthodox Hindu literature probably led him to initiate some social reforms. The Prea Kev Ins. contains the following verse about him :—

“*Śrī-Sūryavarmanṇo rājye varṇabhāge kṛtepi yaḥ/  
Saṃpadam prāpya sad-bhaktiā varṇa-śreṣṭhatva-  
saṃsthitaḥ/*”

The expression ‘varṇabhāge kṛte’ literally means that he instituted the system of caste. But this view is hardly acceptable. For we get reference to castes in Kambuja from a much earlier period. Even Jayavarman V, who reigned shortly before, is said to have made, like Brahmā, proper arrangements of varṇa and āśrama (*dhāteva varṇāśrama-sad-vyavasthām kṛtvā*). Sūryavarman, therefore, regulated the details of the caste system. Although we have no knowledge of exactly what he did, we may well believe that this king, versed in Hindu Śāstras, tried to introduce more orthodox rules in society, and confer dis-

<sup>15</sup> Aymonier—*Cambodge*, Vol. II, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> BEFEO., Vol. IV, p. 672.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. Lovek Ins. ISCC., p. 122.

<sup>18</sup> ISCC., p. 97.

tion on worthy persons by placing them in higher social ranks.<sup>19</sup>

His fondness for innovation is also seen in the domain of art. He is said to have completed the Hemagiri and the Temple-mountain, two structures begun by his predecessors. It is very likely that these two are respectively the Ta Kev temple and the Phimanakas, and Sūryavarman added to them the peculiar corbelled galleries which were unknown in Kambuja architecture till then.<sup>20</sup>

On the whole Sūryavarman is a remarkable figure in Kambuja history, having a romantic career and a distinguished personality. He had found Kambuja in a hopeless state of disintegration, torn by civil war and suffering all the miseries of anarchy and confusion. During his long rule extending over nearly half a century (1001-1049 A.D.) he restored peace and prosperity and extended the boundary of Kambuja to the heart of Siam. The oath of allegiance which he introduced as noted before, is taken even today by the royal officials of Kambuja in more or less the same terms. He made a deep impression on posterity, and it is curious to note that the historical chronicles of Cambodia place his name at the head of the list of kings with which they begin.

19 We are told *e.g.* in the verse quoted above from the Prea Kev Ins. that the Brāhmaṇa Śivācārya was placed at the head of his caste. Probably Sūryavarman introduced something like Kulīnism in Bengal.

20 This is the view of Cœdès (*BEFEO.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 426-27).

## Abeyadāna and Patothamya, two interesting temples at Pagan

BY S. K. SARASWATI

In a study of the square temples at Pagan I have tried to divide them into three distinct groups, which, however, are found to belong to one common architectural tradition that may be styled as Indo-Burmese.<sup>1</sup> Related to the first group, represented by the famous Ānanda and several other similar examples, there are particularly two interesting monuments, each of which, though with marked affinities with the Ānanda group in respect of its plan, arrangement and main lines of elevation, exhibits one distinct variety in the shape of the crowning superstructure. While every temple at Pagan, irrespective of the group to which it belongs, is characterised by a curvilinear *Śikhara* over a roof of several receding tiered stages, these two are each distinguished by a *stūpa* over the tiered roof. This feature constitutes a significant variation, which necessitates a closer examination of these two monuments, especially as regards their antecedents and possible analogues.

The Patothamya, alleged to have been built by king Taungthuggyi in the early part of the 10th century A.D., and the Abeyadāna, built by the famous Kyanzittha in 1059 A.D., represent the two monuments, that are being referred to here. A proper understanding of the monuments in question along with the various problems regarding their origin and antecedents requires a detailed description of these two singular examples of Burmese architecture. The description given previously may here be reproduced in full. As an architectonic example, we should remember, the Abeyadāna appears to have been anterior to the

1 *JGIS.*, Vol. IX, 1942, pp. 5-28 and pls.

Patothamya, which, according to the current tradition, has been ascribed to an earlier date. It "represents a square structure, raised on a moulded plinth, with a projecting vestibule on one side having entrance doorways on three sides of it. The vestibule is partitioned into a central nave and two side aisles and in the interior of the main square we have the usual circumambulatory corridor, surrounding the solid masonry pile in the centre and lighted with the help of three perforated windows, surmounted by flamboyants, on each of the three sides. In plan thus the present structure closely resembles the Nanpaya and the Nagayon, previously mentioned. Like them too the roof rises in two ogee-shaped tiers directly over the vaults over the corridors, surmounted further by three flat horizontal tiers as the basement for the crowning element. The last, however, presents a variation, not found in any of the monuments mentioned above. Instead of the curvilinear *śikhara*, usual in such structures, we have the bell-shaped dome of a *stūpa*, complete with the cruciform turret of the *harmmikā* and the conical finial of the *chatrāvalī*, as the crowning member of the entire monument. In shape and appearance it closely resembles the bell-shaped *stūpa* monuments of Burma. Each of the ogee-shaped roofs is adorned with a miniature replica of the *stūpa* at each corner, while the main entrance doorway in front of the projecting vestibule is crowned likewise by a similar *stūpa* shrine. The roof of the vestibule as well as those of the main shrine are lined each with a battlemented parapet at each stage. The Patothamya resembles the Abeyadāna in general arrangement and composition. But the superstructure consists of flat roofs, instead of the ogee-shaped ones, in the lower courses and a ten-sided dome with a corresponding *harmmikā* and a conical *chatrāvalī* as the crowning element. The plan also exhibits signs of elaboration and apart from the long projection of the portico on the front side there is a shallow offset projection in the centre of each of the three other sides accommodating a rectangular door-

way. A miniature square turret appears at each corner of the different stages of the superstructure, as well as at the centre of each stage, corresponding to the projection of the vestibule and those of the shallow offsets. The parapet at each stage of the roof is lined with a frieze of *stūpa* replicas, instead of battlements. Barring these variations, which might have been due to gradual elaboration in course of time, the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya resemble each other closely and must be classed as belonging to the same type of monuments. They differ from the Nanpaya-Nagayon-Ānanda group only in the shape of the crowning superstructure. In plan, in composition and in the main lines of elevation both the groups represent the same conception and the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya, each with its bell-shaped *stūpa* as the crowning element, should be regarded as a sub-variety of the Nanpaya-Nagayon-Ānanda group, which has a curvilinear *śikhara* instead."<sup>2</sup>

Except these two, no other temple, among the hundreds that still stand at Pagan in various stages of preservation, exhibit this kind of superstructure, which may, on this account, be regarded as a singular feature. The characteristic style of the Pagan temple may also be found reproduced in relief on a number of terracotta votive tablets, discovered from Pagan itself, as well as on a stone sculpture and a terracotta votive tablet from Hmawza or the site of the old city of Prome. In none of these can we discern the *stūpa* as the crowning superstructure of the temple, such as we have in the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya. A *stūpa* raised over a series of gradually receding terraces is, however, a common feature of Burmese architecture and such a *stūpa* is known as the *Zedi* in Burma. But the *stūpa* as the crowning superstructure of a temple raised over a gradually receding tiered roof can on no account be associated or confused with the *zedi*, i.e., the *stūpa* raised over a terraced basement. So as far as our present knowledge goes,

<sup>2</sup> *JGIS.*, Vol. IX, pp. 13-15, Pl. IV.

the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya appear to have been without a parallel in Burmese architecture.

Though no exact replica of the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type of temple is known, a structural analogue, at least in exterior elevation, may be found in the small but exquisitely charming temple of Chaṇḍi Pavon in the Kedu plain in central Java.<sup>3</sup> In plan as well as in the internal arrangement of the shrine the Pavon offers striking divergences from the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type. It consists of a square (cruciform) cella on a wide basement. The cella is surmounted, however, by a roof of two receding tiers and is crowned by a bell-shaped *stūpa*, supported on a cruciform platform and with the conical *chatrāvalī* as the finial. This *stūpa* is further surrounded by smaller *stūpas* on the second tiered stage, at the corners as well as in the centre of each side. It will thus be seen that, in spite of wide differences, the Chaṇḍi Pavon in Java reproduces in the external arrangement of its roof the prominent characteristics of the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type of temple at Pagan in Burma.

From the simplicity of its design and from the style of carvings the Chaṇḍi Pavon cannot be dated later than the 8th century A.D. and thus antedates the Burmese monuments by at least 2 or 3 centuries. But this is the single instance of such a kind of temple in the whole of Java, and one solitary sample, though earlier, cannot indicate this island as the source or origin of the peculiar type of monuments in Burma, especially when we notice wide divergences between the Burmese and Javanese specimens in many fundamental points. It has already been shown that, in spite of differences in detail, all the square temples at Pagan, including the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya, form a class by themselves, and that in external elevation and appearance, viz. a roof of several tiered stages being ultimately crowned by a superstructure, either a *śikhara*

3 R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Pt. II, pp. 192-193 & Pl. IV.

or a *stūpa*, they might ultimately be traced to North-Eastern India. In Bengal and Eastern India there have been discovered a number of stone sculptures, each with the representation in relief of a temple, the roof of which rises in several gradually diminishing tiered stages and with a curvilinear *śikhara* on the top of it as the crowning superstructure. A similar type of temple may also be found illustrated in several miniature paintings contained in a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Cambridge Mss. Add. 1643), dated 135 Nepalese era, corresponding to 1015 A.D.<sup>4</sup> They illustrate several shrines in different parts of Eastern India, which had already attained celebrity by the time this manuscript was copied. These replicas of temples on sculptures and in manuscript paintings, which tally closely with those on the votive tablets from Pagan, indicate a fair popularity of such a type of temple in Eastern India and a fragmentary example of the type may perhaps be recognised in the colossal temple at Paharpur in the district of Rajshahi in North Bengal. The points of contact as well as those of divergences between the Burmese temple and the Indian one had been analysed in detail before, but it cannot be doubted that the Indian prototype had a great deal of influence on the evolution of the characteristic monuments of Pagan.

The Abeyadāna and the Patothamya, though included within the characteristic style of the Pagan temples, exhibit a singular feature, namely a *stūpa* over the tiered roof, for which we have no other parallel in Burmese architecture. It should be pointed out in this connection that a miniature *stūpa* as the pinnacle or the summit of a Buddhist temple is nothing new. Being symbolic of the faith it was used as the finial of a Buddhist shrine, just as the *caṅkṛa* (discus) or the *triśūla* (trident) is placed on the summit of a temple of Viṣṇu or of Śiva. As such its use is very common and frequent both in India and Farther India. In

4 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, (ed. R. C. Majumdar) pp. 494-95, 503.

the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya the case is, however, different. Here, in each case, the *stūpa* is a part of the structure itself and not merely its crowning finial. Herein lies its singular interest, which adds to the uniqueness of the monuments in question.

The *Drāviḍa* style of temple in Southern India is characterised by a pyramidal elevation of the tower (*vimāna*), which originally consisted of a multiplication of storey after storey, each a replica of the sanctum cella and slightly reduced in extent than the one below, and of a domical member, technically known as the *stūpī* or *stūpikā*, as the crowning member of the whole edifice.<sup>5</sup> Some scholars may find an analogy between the *stūpa* surmounting the tiered roof of the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type of temple at Pagan and the octagonal or hemispherical dome crowning the storeyed stages of the *Drāviḍa* temple. But this analogy fails to bear closer scrutiny. The domical crowning member of the *Drāviḍa* temple might have some superficial resemblance with the hemispherical shape of the *stūpa* and may account for the technical term *stūpī* or *stūpikā*. But it should be remembered that the term *stūpī* is also used in *Śilpa* texts to mean merely the top of the tower, whatever its shape might be, as in the case of the *Nāgara* temples.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the *stūpī* or *stūpikā* crowning the *Drāviḍa* temple lacks the essential component elements of the *stūpa* proper and cannot be legitimately identified or equated with one. The octagonal or hemispherical dome crowning the pyramidal roof of the *Drāviḍa* temple-style cannot be cited hence as an instance analogous to that of the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type of temple.

5 S. K. Saraswati, 'Origins of the Medieval temple styles', *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, p. 188.

6 Cf. *Upānastūpīparyantam yugāsraṃ Nāgarām bhavet—Kāṃikā-gama*, or

*Stūpyantam catuśrasraṃ yān-Nāgarām parikīrtitām—Mayamata*.

The association of the Pagan style of temple as a main class with Eastern India has been possible on the analogy of the relief representations of temples of the Pagan style on tablets and sculptures from Pagan and Prome in Burma with similar replicas that have been found on several stone sculptures in Eastern India. But in none of these do we find the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type represented and one is apt to regard it as only a local and indigenous manifestation of the main style, this main style being indebted for many of its fundamental characteristics to inspiration from Eastern India. But no other structural example of the type, except these two, is known in the whole of Burma, nor is the type represented on any of the numerous votive tablets from Pagan bearing in relief the models of the Pagan style of temple. For a prototype of the Abeyadāna and the Patothamya one has to search the region nearer to the place, whence the original inspiration for the fundamentals of the style came. But neither in the Eastern provinces, nor in any part of India do we find a monument that may approximate, even superficially, the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type of temple.

The Cambridge manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Add. 1643), mentioned above, is of extreme importance to the student of Indian architecture as handing down to us remarkable sketches of many interesting types of monuments that once adorned the different parts of India, but which have well nigh perished and passed into oblivion. Among its miniatures there are representations of famous Buddhist shrines in India, specially Eastern India. Some of these represent interesting architectural types, of which not only no extant examples are known, but even the memory has completely been forgotten. One such type has already been taken note of, namely the temple with the tiered roof crowned by a curvilinear *śikhara*, such as we have on the stone sculptures from Eastern India and votive tablets and sculptures from Pagan and Prome in Burma. There are at least three representations of such

a type among the painted miniatures,<sup>7</sup> which indicate a fairly frequent usage of the type in ancient days, though not a single example of it appears to exist now. These sketches, coupled with similar relief replicas on sculptures and tablets from Eastern India and Burma, furnish a forgotten, but, nonetheless, important chapter in the history of Indian as well as Farther Indian architecture.

Still more interesting are the three sketches, representing respectively the shrines of Lokanātha in Nālendrā (Bengal),<sup>8</sup> of Vaiśālī Tārā in Tirabhukti (North Bihar)<sup>9</sup> and of Vajrapāṇi in Uḍḍiyāna.<sup>10</sup> The location of the last is unknown, but there is a volume of evidence in favour of its being situated in Bengal.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya is inclined to identify it with Vajrayogini, a famous centre of Tāntrik worship in the district of Dacca.<sup>12</sup> These sketches, all evidently from Eastern India, represent a significant type of building that was in vogue in this region in the ancient days, but every vestige of which had long been wiped out. Not only there are not a single extant example, but what is more, even relief representations of such a kind of building, such as we have for the other forgotten type, are lacking. These sketches are hence the only records of the existence of such a type of building in Eastern India in days long gone by.

Of the three shrines those at Uḍḍiyāna and Tirabhukti appear to represent an earlier form. In each of these we find a temple, the roof of which rises in several gradually receding tiers and is surmounted by a fairly big *stūpa*, complete with all its component elements. Some-

7 Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique*, Pls. III, 4; V, 3; VII, 3.

8 Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique*, Pl. V, 1.

9 *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 1.

10 *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 5.

11 *IHQ.*, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

12 *Journal of the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute*, Vol. I, pp. 66-70.

times the edge of the tiers is indented, a feature that adds to the decorative effect of the shrine. A more evolved and elaborate form of the type may be recognised in the temple of Lokanātha in Nālendrā, where we find the corners at each stage decorated further with miniature replicas of the crowning superstructure, i.e., the *stūpa* supported on the last tier of the roof. Curious though such a building may be, there can be no doubt that these sketches were no inventions of imaginative artists, but were copied from the actual shrines themselves, which had attained sanctity and celebrity in those days. They appear to have formed a significant architectural type that was in vogue in Eastern India, especially in famous sites of old.

These sketches reproduce the typical characteristic of the Abeyadāna-Patothamya type of temple at Pagan, for which we have no other parallel in Burma, either among the numerous Pagan monuments nor among the relief replicas that we possess of such monuments. The type, however, was certainly in existence in Eastern India before the manuscript was copied, i.e., before 1015 A.D. The Pagan style in its fundamental aspects may ultimately be traced to Eastern India. The Abeyadāna and the Patothamya clearly demonstrate that even in the determining of types and varieties within the style of Pagan temples Eastern Indian architectural tradition played a significant and dominant part.\*

\* [The illustrations have unavoidably been held over till the next issue of the *JGIS.*—Ed.]

## A Note on the expression, *Ṣaṭ-tarka* in an Inscription of Champā

BY DURGA CHARAN CHATTERJEE

A Po-Nagar inscription<sup>1</sup> of King Indravarman III of Champā dated 840 *Śaka* (=918 A.D.) in connection with the installation of an image of the goddess Bhagavati by him, describes the scholarship of the king as follows :

*mīmāṃsā-ṣaṭ-tarka-jinendra-sūrmis*  
*sakāśika-vyākaraṇodakauḥ*  
*ākhyāna-śaivottara-kalpa-mīnaḥ*  
*paṭiṣṭha eteṣviti sat-kavīnām*<sup>2</sup>

Here the expression *mīmāṃsa-ṣaṭ-tarka* has been translated<sup>3</sup> as 'the six systems of Philosophy beginning with *Mīmāṃsā*', it being obviously interpreted as *mīmāṃsādi-ṣaṭ-tarka*. By the six systems of Philosophy we often understand the six Brahmanical schools of thought usually known as (1) *Mīmāṃsā*, (2) *Vedānta*, (3) *Nyāya*, (4) *Vaiśeṣika*, (5) *Sāṃkhya* and (6) *Pātañjala*. The six systems as described by the Jaina scholar Haribhadrāsūri in his *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*<sup>4</sup> are (1) *Bauddha*, (2) *Jaina*, (3) *Nyāya*, (4) *Vaiśeṣika*, (5) *Sāṃkhya* and (6) *Mīmāṃsā*. It is interesting to note that all these six systems have been regarded as *āstika* by Haribhadra. He further observes that *Nyāya* and

1 R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 138-139.

2 In the above *Mīmāṃsā* has been shortened to *mīmāṃsa* for metrical reasons. Cf. the well-known dictum *api māṣam maṣam kuryāc chandobhaṅgam tyajed girām* (Mallinātha on the *Raghuvamśa*, XVIII, 23). The inscription in the original as reproduced by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, (*loc. cit.*) reads *sakāśikā*, but this is ungrammatical. *Sakāśika* as approved by grammar and metre may therefore, be suggested in its place.

3 R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*

4 *Bib. Ind. ed.*, VI, 77-79.

*Vaiśeṣika* do form but one school and *Cārvāka* known as *nāstika* (unbeliever) should, therefore, be incorporated in the group in order to have the six systems of thought. The word *tarka* is sometimes used in a specific sense, as in the *Nyāyasūtra*,<sup>5</sup> and sometimes in the general sense of 'argument' or 'discussion'.<sup>6</sup> But is there any authority for use of the word *ṣaṭ-tarka* to denote the six systems of Indian Philosophy as they are commonly recognised?<sup>7</sup>

Rājaśekhara (c. 1000 A.D.) in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* divides *ānvikṣikī* into *pūrva-pakṣa* and *uttara-pakṣa*, the former comprising the schools of (i) *Bauddha*, (ii) *Jaina*, and (iii) *Cārvāka*, and the latter consisting of the schools of (iv) *Nyāya*, (v) *Vaiśeṣika*, and (vi) *Sāṃkhya*. And these six systems have been designated by him as *ṣaṭ-tarka*.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere in this work,<sup>9</sup> Rājaśekhara has divided the *Prāmāṇikas* or the experts in the *pramāṇa-vidyā* into two classes—*Mīmāṃsikas* and *Tārkiṣas*, the latter being further classified as adherents of (i) *Sāṃkhya* (*Sāṃkhya*), (ii-iii) *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* (*Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikīya*), (iv) *Bauddha* (*Bauddhīya*), (v) *Jaina* (*Arhata*), and (vi) *Cārvāka* (*Lokāyatika*). Jayantabhaṭṭa (c. 1000 A.D.) uses the expression *ṣaṭ-tarka* in his *Nyāya-mañjarī* precisely in the same sense.<sup>10</sup>

5 See *Viśvanātha-vṛtti* on *Nyāya-sūtra* I, 1. 40.

6 See *Nyāya-koṣa*, published by Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, s.v.; also *Nyāya-sūtra*, Bengali tr. by Mm. Phanibhūṣaṇ Tarkavāgiśa, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇḍita, Calcutta, 2nd. ed., Vol. I, pp. 296-306.

7 It is to be noted in this connection that the word *tarka* has been used to denote the number six. See *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier-Williams, s.v.

8 *duidhā cānvikṣikī pūrv-ōttara-pakṣābhyām, arhad-bhadanta-darśane lokāyatam ca pūrvah pakṣah, sāmkyam nyāya-vaiśeṣikau coitarah, ta ime ṣaṭ-tarkāḥ* (p. 4).

9 Pp. 36-7.

10 *Ibid.*, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, p. 4:—*yatas sāmkyārbhatānām ..... asyām janātāsu prasiddhāyām = api ṣaṭ-tarkayām*

We thus find that *ṣaṭ-tarka* has come to be used in a specific sense about 1000 A.D. As occurring in an inscription of the same period, it should therefore be taken in the sense of the six logical systems of (1) *Bauddha*, (2) *Jaina*, (3) *Cārvāka*, (4) *Sāṃkhya*, (5) *Nyāya* and (6) *Vaiśeṣika*. The expression *mīmāṃsa-ṣaṭ-tarka* can be interpreted as *mīmāṃsā* and *ṣaṭ-tarka*. *Mīmāṃsā*, as it is well-known, refers to both *Karmamīmāṃsā* and *Jñānamīmāṃsā* or *Vedānta*. Similarly *Sāṃkhya* includes both the atheistic school of Kapila and the theistic school of Patañjali (*Pātañjala* or *Yoga* system). It is, therefore apparent that in the inscription mentioned above *mīmāṃsā* and *ṣaṭ-tarka* taken together stand for all the commonly known schools of Indian Philosophy both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical, or at least for the logical portions of those schools: they also cover the entire range of *Pramāṇavidyā* which Rājaśekhara recommends for a poet.<sup>11</sup> King Indravarman III of the Champā inscription who has been described as one expert as much in abstruse philosophy and grammar as in imaginative poetic art, appears to have followed just what is prescribed by Rājaśekhara, possibly his contemporary in India.

*idam=eva tarka-nyāyavistara-śabdābhyāṃ śāstram-uktam.* The statement of Jayanta may be summarised as follows: The techniques of inference of the (i) *Sāṃkhya*, (ii) *Jaina* and (iii) *Buddhist* schools do not appear satisfactory and neither are they helpful for establishing the authority of the *Veda*. The logic of the (iv) *Cārvāka* is ridiculously defective and can hardly claim any consideration. The *Vaiśeṣika* being just in agreement with the (vi) *Nyāya* position, need not be regarded as a different system. So notwithstanding what is commonly recognised as the *ṣaṭ-tarka* or the group of the six systems of *tarka*, the word *tarka* or *nyāya-vistara* as one of the fourteen *vidyās* refers alone to the *Nyāya* system of Akṣapāda. For Jayantabhaṭṭa's date, see S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic* p. 47. With *ṣaṭ-tarka*, cf. *Ṣaḍ-darśanī*, *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya*, *Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā*, p. 1, l. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, pp. 36-38.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Wayfarer's Words, Vol. II.** By Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. London 1941. Pp. 373-719.

It is with a heavy heart that we take up our pen to review the exceedingly thoughtful work of a *savant* who is no more in this world. This work is the second volume of Mrs. Rhys Davids' sporadic writings and lectures (nos. 31-60). Of late Mrs. Rhys Davids has been harping on the theme that Buddha's Buddhism was first distorted by the Pali commentators, particularly by Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa and then by the present day orientalists, many of whom missed the real sense of a Pali word. Much harm has been done, she says, to the true comprehension of Buddhism by the careless rendering of Pali words and expressions into an European language. There is much force in this remark but the stumbling-block is that to write on Buddhism, one must use some European language as his medium of expression. Mrs. Rhys Davids herself has started using new words and even coining some for this purpose. She rejected some of the hackneyed words used in translations and substituted others which would give more sense, e.g. *Buddha*=Pioneer (p. 473), *Waywiter* (p. 474), *taṇhā*=strong will (p. 481), *brahmācariya*=the God-life (p. 492), *attā*=Man in the mind (not "self" used by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, pp. 448-450), and so forth. The favourite style of expression adopted by Mrs. Rhys Davids is as follows: "And this was just the object of Sākyan mission; its emphasis lay, not on the Most, Highest, Best, but on the More, the Way in which man could become that More, the carrying out religion, not in ritual, not in assertion of identity with the Highest, but in so living as to be growing, fructifying in that More on the way to the Most" (p. 420).

The above extract gives an idea not only of her style

of writing but also the substance of her new interpretation of original Buddhism. She is of opinion that Buddha took the doctrine of immanence from the Upaniṣads, but he did not recommend the practice of introspection leading to the identification of the self with the Highest, (the "Most" of Mrs. Rhys Davids); he recommended a gradual purification and spiritual uplift, in the words of the authoress he laid emphasis on the "More" which, of course, would ultimately lead to the "Most," the Brahman of the Upaniṣads (p. 602). Buddha, she states, accepted the principle of immanence in Brahmanism of that day, but he rejected the rituals and laid emphasis on conduct, and ultimately, the difference between Brahmanism and Buddhism became widened in the conception of "ātman" which in the Upaniṣads meant "best self," in Buddhist texts "something non-existent," while in Christianity "our worse self" (p. 608). Through all these lectures and writings of late Mrs. Rhys Davids has harped on the theme that Nirvāna originally did not mean either annihilation or a state of peace and rest and happiness; it was the state of immanence "the teaching man how, as wayfarer in the worlds he might, seeking his *attha*, finally become That" (p. 658). In fact, she has been drifting towards Mahāyānic interpretation of Nirvāna, i.e. Tathatā=Thatness, though she says that in "Mahāyāna the cult of words begat a metaphysic of absolutism" while in Hīnayāna (Theravāda) the cult of words begat some psychology and logic. *In both* the founder as a real man, and his real gospel, were practically lost sight of (p. 705)." By forceful reasoning, she wants to establish that Buddha was never antitheistic. Her conclusion is that "Buddhism at its birth was in a fair, true way theistic than other world creeds" (p. 451).

In this review we have tried to indicate the lines in which Mrs. Rhys Davids wanted to interpret Buddhism lately. She has in fact rejected several pet theories of the Palists. She boldly asserts that Buddhism is a reorientation of the Upaniṣadic teaching, that Buddha was more

theistic than any other teacher, and that his Nirvāna was nothing but the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Immanence. In conclusion we may say that this new approach to the problem of Buddhist philosophy should be seriously taken up by the Palists, because there is much force in it as it has come from one who can claim to be one of the greatest Palists of the present day and perhaps the first and the foremost in the studies of Pali Abhidhamma. She has, however, unconsciously drifted towards Mahāyāna, and accepted the claim of the Mahāyānist that the Hīnayānic interpretations were superficial. After all, the lectures and writings are thought-provoking and we hope these will be read in the spirit they are written.

N. Dutt.

**The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan.** By Dines Chandra Sircar, M. A., Ph.D. Published by the Calcutta University. Pp. xv + 417. Calcutta 1939.

This is a contribution of first-rate importance to the study of the dynasties that ruled in the lower Deccan in the interval between the downfall of the Sātavāhanas and the Cālukya conquest. In his attempt to reconstruct the regional history of the period in question, the author has frequently had occasion to tackle numerous problems of genealogy, chronology and geography, to correct errors of former workers in the field, and to explain a number of technical terms and expressions occurring in the inscriptions such as *āyukta*, *vallabha*, *neyika-naiyogika*, *hiraṇyagarbhodbhava*, *avasitavividha-divya* and so forth. His discussions are marked not only by a high degree of technical equipment including a thorough knowledge of palaeography and of the relevant general literature, but also by sound judgment and they are always expressed in a clear incisive style. In the result he has not only laid a sound basis for the political history of an important tract in the first few centuries of the Christian era, but has also presented

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

illuminating side-lights on its administration and the state of contemporary society and religion.

The work under notice consists of two Parts. In Part I (chs. I-VI) the author deals successively with the history of the Ikṣvākus, the Br̥hatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Viṣṇukundins and the Early Pallavas who ruled the Andhra country in the period in question. Part II (chs. I-IV) reviews the history of the different branches of the Early Kadambas and of the Kekayas who ruled the Kanarese country during the same period. The author has earned the thanks of his readers by including a map at the beginning of his work and by adding ten valuable Appendices and a good Index at its end.

We have noticed a few printing mistakes not corrected in the list of *Addenda et Corrigenda* at the end, such as Puru (p. 10), Andau (p. 162), Arjunāyana (p. 230), Tuṣāspa (p. 322) and Todd (pp. 350-351).

U. N. Ghoshal

**Ceylon under the British Occupation (1795-1833). Its Political, Administrative and Economic Development.** By Colvin R. de Silva, B.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) Bar-at-law. 2nd ed., 2 vols. Published by the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd. Colombo, Ceylon. Pp. x+639. Price, vol. I Rs. 6/50; vol. II Rs. 7/50.

In this well-documented and scholarly work, which was originally presented as a Doctorate thesis of the London University, the author gives us an admirably thorough and accurate description of the early history of British rule in Ceylon. The work consists of three sections, Political, Administrative, and Economic, with an introduction sketching the condition of the Island just before the British conquest and a Conclusion drawing together the different lines of development at the end. The author's narrative is throughout based on minute and first-hand study of original sources including Manuscript records in the British Colonial Office, the India Office, the British Museum, the Colombo

Archives and the Colombo Museum as well as printed records of Parliamentary debates, old Journals, contemporary works and the like. The author's analysis of historical causes and effects is sound and penetrating, his style is clear and effective, his critical observations are suggestive and stimulating. We can best illustrate our remarks in this last respect by making a few quotations. Commenting upon the fall of the last independent king of Kandy, the author writes (pp. 156-57):—"A petty state, mediaeval in structure, unprogressive in ideas, parochial in policy and diplomacy and rent by internal dissensions, could not anyhow have checked the advance of a modern imperial power. ...But the extraordinary ease with which the British conquest of Kandy was accomplished in a campaign of only forty days excites remark. It is to be ascribed to the disloyalty of the entire body of chiefs and the disaffection of the common people....It was a repetition of an old and tragic tale. The Kandyans turned with a too facile readiness to the idea of bringing in the foreigner to settle their domestic differences. That pitcher went once too often to the well. The convenient arbitrator became the permanent master. The Kandyans accomplished their own political doom." Again, in bringing his narrative to a close with the fateful year 1833—the date itself is a reminder of the close parallel between modern Indian and Sinhalese history—the author observes (p. 594):—"The year 1833 constitutes a definite and important landmark in the history of Ceylon. After centuries of war, disruption and disunion, the Island had been completely pacified, politically united and administratively consolidated under the British sceptre. The rulers of Ceylon could now turn unhindered, with a reorganised and modernised administration, to the task of opening up the Island and developing its resources....In short, the foundations of the present political, administrative and economic structure of Ceylon were laid during the period 1796-1833, and the reforms of 1833 completed and rounded off that work. Ceylon was firmly set on the highway of

modern development. A new era in her history had dawned."

U. N. Ghoshal.

**Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology**, vol. II for 1939. By Braz A. Fernandes. Published by the Bombay Historical Society, Bombay 1941. Pp. xxiii+191. Price Rs. 5/.

In recent times the two well-known series of publications, the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Art and Archaeology* and the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* published respectively by the Kern Institute of Leyden and a Committee of scholars with J. Przyluski and M. Lalou at its head, have been of immense service for the cause of Indological and allied studies. It was a matter of extreme regret to all concerned that these two useful series ceased publication in 1939 and 1937 respectively. It speaks much for the enterprise and love of scholarship of the Bombay Historical Society that it was able almost at once to step into the breach by publishing a *Bibliography of Indian History and Research* for 1938 as a Supplement to its well-known Journal. The present volume marks a fresh step in advance as it is published independently with an improved arrangement. It consists of five sections bearing the titles (I) India, Burma and Ceylon (II) Further India and Indonesia (III) Adjoining countries (IV) Islamic world and (V) Miscellaneous. The first and by far the longest section (134 pp.) is divided into a number of sub-sections under appropriate headings Each Section or Sub-section gives the author's name in alphabetical order along with the titles of the books and references and in some cases short notices of contents. An Index of Authors and a Subject Index brings this useful volume to a close.

In a work of this compass it is easy to pick up defects such as the over-lapping of topics, the omission of important names and the meagre notices of contents of even important books and articles. We have noticed a few

duplications (e.g. nos. 783 and 812) and a number of printing mistakes (such as those under nos. 249, 254, 286, 321, 342, 348, 455 and 746). We have no doubt that with wider experience and with closer co-operation of scholars and learned institutions, the *Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology* will overcome all such defects. We wish the new venture a long and prosperous career.

U. N. Ghoshal.

**Early History of the Andhra Country.** By K. Gopalachari, M. A., Ph.D. Madras University Historical Series No. 16. Published by the University of Madras, 1941. Pp. xiv+226 and 12 plates. Price Rs. 5/8.

This well-written monograph maintains the high standard of scholarship that we have been used to expect from the series of historical publications issued by the Madras University under the inspiring and skilled guidance of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. As the author tells us in his short Preface, "It is an attempt to present a connected history of the Andhras and the Andhra country from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cālukyas." In accordance with this plan the author first deals (chs. I-VI), as exhaustively as the scanty materials will permit, with the much discussed but still far from certain, history of the Sātavāhanas. In the following chapters (VII-XI) he traces with equal ability the less known history of the dynasties following the Sātavāhanas in the Telugu country, viz: the Ikṣvākus, the Bṛhatphalāyanas, the Vaiṅgeyakas (usually called Śālaṅkāyanas), the Kandaras (usually known as Ānandas) and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Over and above his reconstruction of the dynastic history, the author has presented in each case valuable notices of the conditions of government, society and religion prevailing in those times.

Presented as a University Doctorate thesis, the present work bears on every page the stamp of ripe scholarship. The author's use of his sources, extending to a

minute and painstaking examination of the epigraphic, numismatic and literary data, is thorough and exhaustive. What is more, his treatment of numerous difficult and disputed questions of history, geography and chronology is marked by critical acumen of a high order.

We propose to offer a few remarks for the consideration of the author in the event of a new edition being called for. The notices of administrative arrangements of the Sātavāhana and other dynasties should include an account of the prevailing land system. It was pointed out by the present reviewer in another connection (*Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 34-37) that the records of the Sātavāhanas and their contemporaries and immediate successors in the Deccan and South India testify to the extraction of revenue from the royal farms and allotments in villages, the land revenue in the proper sense of the term being probably as yet unknown. In the chapters on social conditions the author's notes on dress and ornaments, luxury, military arrangement etc. (pp. 98-104) should be amply illustrated by sketches from the monumental sculptures somewhat on the lines of Mr. C. Sivaramamurti's recently published fine monograph *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*. The section on economic conditions should similarly be rendered more vivid by means of sketch-maps indicating the ports, the market towns, trade-routes etc. as far as ascertainable. An attempt should also be made to trace as much as possible the ratio between the different metallic currencies of the Sātavāhanas, the purchasing power of the local currency and so forth. A few misprints e. g. Kalimpur (p. 148n) require correction.

U. N. Ghoshal.

**Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (Pre-Muhammadan Epoch).** By Benoy Chandra Sen, M. A., B.L., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the University of Calcutta, 1942. Pp. lxxviii+613. Price not stated.

This is one of the most important publications on Ancient

Indian history appearing in recent years. Its modest title hardly does justice to its high and varied merits. While inscriptions, naturally enough, form the most important source of his work, the author has laid under contribution all available literary and archaeological data extending from the earliest times to the downfall of the Sena rule in West Bengal at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. On the many difficult and disputed questions that crop up in the course of his narrative the author writes not only with full knowledge, but also with scholarly sobriety and restraint.

In the course of a long Introduction the author gives a valuable bibliography of Bengal. Inscriptions arranged in chronological order along with genealogical and chronological tables of the ruling dynasties and a list of foreign invaders of Bengal. He also presents a welcome *résumé* of the more important results of recent research which could not be incorporated into the body of his work.

The Book consists of three parts. Part I (unfortunately lacking in a map) contains by far the fullest and the most exhaustive account of the ancient geography of Bengal. Here in successive chapters the author passes in review the ample but widely scattered data derivable from Indian tradition and from Greek and Latin sources as well as those of later times classified conveniently under the heads of the broad geographical divisions. A concluding chapter brings together a number of unsolved problems of Ancient Bengal Geography.

In Part II dealing with Political History the author treads a more extensively beaten track. But he treats numerous disputed points of detail with his usual originality, skill and learning. Among the more important topics dealt with by him, we may mention Khāravela's chronology and his relations with Bengal (pp. 175-192), the identity of Emperor Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription (pp. 200-205), the Gupta imperial succession after Kumāragupta I (pp. 216-224), the chronology of the Dharmāditya group of kings (pp. 252-255), the chain

of events leading to the conflict between Śaśāṅka and Harṣa (pp. 262-271), the chronology of the Khaḍga dynasty (pp. 279-281), early Pāla chronology and Pāla origins (pp. 293-308), the connections of the Kamboja ruling families and especially of king Rājya-pāla of the Iḍra grant (pp. 376-380), the origin of the Senas with especial reference to the significance of the title *Brahmakṣatriya* (pp. 432-455), the origin of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era (pp. 462-469) and the chronology of the Senas (pp. 469-479).

In Part III the author attempts to give as far as possible a connected account of the public administration of Bengal from Maurya times to the end of Sena rule. In this connection he deals adequately with such important topics as the system of provincial, district and village administration under the Imperial Guptas and their immediate successors (pp. 490-521), the constitutional importance of the election of Gopāla I (pp. 525-528), the significance of administrative titles (pp. 534-553) and the system of provincial, district and village administration under the Pālas and Senas as well as minor dynasties (pp. 554-556).

We have noticed a few slips and omissions not referred to in the list of *Addenda et Corrigenda*, which may be rectified in a later edition. To the list of Bengal Inscriptions (pp. xi ff.) should be added (1) and (2) two Midnapore Sāhitya-Parisat Museum copper-plate inscriptions of Śaśāṅka and (3) Nārāyaṇapur Image Inscription of Mahipāla I (?). On p. 168 Jaugaḍā should be read in place of Jaugarh. On p. 173 in connection with the discussion of the identity of the Yavana invader of the Gangetic valley mention should be made of Dr. W. W. Tarn's notable theory in his work *The Greeks and Bactrians in India*. On p. 245 the supposed reference in the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena to the slaying of Dāmodaragupta in a battle with the Maukharis should be corrected in the light of Prof. Kṣetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya's explanation (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 181-2). On p. 275 the statement about the end of Tibetan rule in India and Nepal in 703 A.D. which is based on E. H.

Parker's paper in the *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society* should be properly verified. (For a different view on this point see the *History of Bengal*, vol. I, published by the Dacca University, p. 93). On p. 435 the statement that Hari was put to death along with Bhīma should be rectified. In the chapter on administration under the Pālas and Senas (p. 549) notice should be taken of the interpretation by the present reviewer (*Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 219-220) of the title *Daśāparādhika* which has been practically left unexplained. On p. 541 the explanation of *gaṇmika* as 'Superintendent of Forests' is a slip. In connection with references in Sena grants (pp. 569-570) to the income from lands and villages, mention should be made of the reviewer's suggestion (*op. cit.*, pp. 265-66) of the substitution by the Senas of a system of cash payments for the older rule of payment in kind.

The high value of the present work, which in its original form secured for its author the Doctorate degree of the London University, has not been diminished by the recent publication by the Dacca University of the *History of Bengal*, vol. I, although the first ten chapters of the latter work cover exactly the same ground. The present author has done well in adding a good index extending over thirty-five pages of closely printed matter at the end.

U. N. Ghoshal

## The Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference, Benares

BY DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference took place at Benares in the premises of the Benares Hindu University under the auspices of the University on the 30th and 31st December 1943 and the 1st and 2nd January 1944. The conference is held every two years—the last session was at Hyderabad, Deccan. This year the General President was Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of Poona, eminent Sanskritist of present-day India. There were 14 sections for the different branches of Indology, including a *Pandita-Parishad* or Gathering of Sanskrit scholars of the old type which was presided over by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Giridhar Sarma Chaturvedi, Principal of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Jaipur. The other Sections and Sectional Presidents were the following: (1) *Vedic*—Dr. Kunhan Raja, Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University; (2) *Iranian*, Dr. J. M. Unvala of Navsari; (3) *Islamic History and Culture*, Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, Madras University; (4) *Arabic and Persian*, Dr. M. Iqbal, Oriental College, Lahore; (5) *Sanskrit*, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, Bombay; (6) *Religion and Philosophy*, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesh Mishra, Allahabad University; (7) *Pali and Buddhism*, Dr. P. V. Bapat, Fergusson College, Poona; (8) *Prakrit and Jainism*, Prof. Hiralal Jain, Amraoti; (9) *History and Geography*, Dr. H. C. Ray, Ceylon University; (10) *Archaeology*, Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras; (11) *Philology and Indian Linguistics*, Dr. S. K. De, Dacca University; (12) *Technical Sciences*, Prof. P. C. Das Gupta, Calcutta; (13) *Hindi*, Rai Bahadur Dr. Shyamsundar Das, Benares. It has been decided to add a new section from the next session onwards, that on *Dravidian Studies*.

There was quite a large attendance, all the Universities and a great many learned bodies in India being represented, and Benares as the intellectual centre of Hinduism naturally attracted a good number of delegates. One delegate represented China—Dr. F. K. Li (Li Fang-Kuci), who is a distinguished linguist of Modern China. Dr. Li was sent by the *Academia Sinica* and the *Sino-Indian Cultural Association* of Chung-king, and, in addition to attending the Conference, Dr. Li intended to make a tour of India and to form contacts with our scholars particularly in Indology and in Linguistics with a view to future collaboration in scholarship relating to Sino-Indian and other cultural matters, including linguistic investigation of Indian languages of the Sino-Tibetan family. The visit of Dr. Li was thus highly significant, and although foreign delegates had attended the all-India Oriental Conference before, it was the first time that we had an official representative from our great neighbour China. It is hoped that the coming of Dr. Li from China, combined with the interchange of students between India and China which has already taken place and with the interchange of professors which may be arranged for in the near future, will usher in a new era of Sino-Indian fellowship through study and research into the culture of Asia and Asiatic peoples—a prospect which the *Greater India Society* cannot but contemplate with pleasure. There are already some Chinese scholars and students resident in Calcutta, at Santiniketan (in the *Cīna-bhavana*, an Institute of Chinese Research) and at Sarnath near Benares, and in addition to Dr. Li, some of these scholars from China (notably Mr. T. F. Chou, who is studying Sanskrit and Indian languages in India) also attended. There were two delegates representing Poland, Dr. Maryla Falk of Calcutta University, and Dr. Ludwic Sternbach.

The Conference was formally opened at 12 on the 31st December by the Pro-Chancellor of the University, Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga in the

Sayajirao Library Hall, after which Dr. Belvalkar read his presidential address. The *Pandita Parishad* and the different sections held their meetings, and over 200 papers were contributed by scholars. There were three symposia arranged in which distinguished specialists took part—(1) *Who overthrew the Kushāṇa Empire—the Bhāraśivas, the Vākāṭakas, or the Yaudheyas?* (2) *The Vikrama Era* (the present year, 1944, corresponds to year 2000 of the Vikrama Saṃvat, and in various places in India celebrations of the commencement of the third millennium of the Vikrama Era are being held, so that this subject had a special topical interest in the present conference); (3) *Data of the Mahabharata War*; (4) *the Authenticity of the Bhāsa Plays*; and (5) *Hindi as the Lingua-Franca for India*. The last symposium was held under the joint auspices of the *Linguistic and Modern Indian Languages Section* of the Conference and the *Linguistic Society of India*, and as the subject had a very wide appeal, there was a large gathering of both members of the Conference and of the public.

The *Linguistic Society of India* employs the occasion of the All-India Oriental Conference to hold its two-yearly sittings, and this time also the Society held its session. The report of the Society for the last two years was read by the secretary, Dr. Sukumar Sen of the University of Calcutta, and new office-bearers were elected with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji as President. The Society brings out its Quarterly Journal *Indian Linguistics* and seeks to constitute an important forum for all higher linguistic work in India.

The papers contributed to the different sections were (as naturally would be the case) of diverse quality with a few echoing fantastic theories and views, but there were some important articles. The Aryan and non-Aryan question is coming larger and larger into prominence, and in Linguistics, slowly the Indian investigators are extending the scope of their researches into Indo-European. Topics of Greater Indian interest were conspicuous by their absence, this year, unfortunately. There was a solitary paper on *Relation*

*between Bengal and China in Ancient Times* by Dr. D. C. Ganguli of Dacca University, together with another on *Early Arab Expeditions to India* by Mr. M. A. Khaliq, M.A. of Delhi. We only wish that Indian scholars turned their attention to this aspect of Indology, and devoted greater attention to the question of Indian contacts with other countries of Asia, particularly in ancient and medieval times.

The Conference, on the whole, was a great success, both academically and socially. Apart from the papers and learned lectures there was a lunch (vegetarian and purely *d' indienne*) given by the Chancellor of the University, His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and At Homes given by the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, by the *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā* (Academy of Hindi Literature) of Benares, and by Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram. Visits were paid to see the collections of the *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā* (old pictures, MSS., sculptures and remains from recent excavations of Sarnath), and the members were taken to see the ruins of Sarnath and the recent Buddhist temples and other establishments there.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University, and Dr. A. S. Altekar, the local Secretary, together with the staff and student volunteers of the University were all attention to the guests, and considering the present situation in India, through the Japanese carrying on air raids on the soil of India and through acute famine in Bengal and elsewhere and general economic dislocation and distress all over India, the Conference was a brilliant success and was one of the most important events during the year in the cultural life of present-day India.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,**  
Vol. XI, Pt. I.

H. W. Bailey.—*Iranica* [Exegetical notes on a number of words including Arabic Barmak traced through Bactrian to Skt. *Pramukha* used in various Khotanese texts as a title of the head of the Buddhist monastery].

Lionel Giles.—*Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, VI. Tenth Century*. [A valuable catalogue of documents from Tun-huang including the oldest printed sheet in the world. Containing a large variety of miscellaneous prayers, eulogies, certificates, contracts, etc., it illustrates the growing poverty and political unrest of the region and shows how Buddhism, though, still the dominant religion, had degenerated since the great days of the T'angs].

**University of Ceylon Review**, April 1943, Vol. I, No. 1

C. E. Godakumbura.—*References to Buddhist Sanskrit Writers in Sinhalese Literature*. [Contains a large number of quotations and other references traced to their Buddhist Sanskrit sources].

**Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, 1943, vol. XXXV, pt. 4.

S. Paranavitana.—*A Nāgari Legend on some Sinhalese coins*. [Gives the correct reading as *Aka* which is a pure Sinhalese word for a class of coins mentioned in Sinhalese literature and tenth century inscriptions].

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### Periodicals

- Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. VII, pts. 3 & 4.  
Bhāratiya Vidyā Patrikā, Vol. I, pts. 7-12; Vol. II, pts. 2 & 3.  
Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4.  
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XI, pt. 1.  
Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, No. 3.  
Journal of Āndhra History and Culture, Vol. I, No. 3.  
Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. XII, No. 1.  
Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXII, pts. 2 & 3.  
Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Vol. IV, No. 2.  
Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Vol. 47, pts. 3 & 4.

### Books, Pamphlets, Etc.

- Arabica and Islamica. By U. Wayriffe. Luzac & Co., London 1940.  
Chandragupta Maurya and his Times. (Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1940-41). By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., Madras University. Madras, 1943.  
Excavations at Rairh. By Dr. K. N. Puri, B.Sc., D. Lit., (Paris). Department of Archaeology and Historical Research, Jaipur State.  
Wayfarer's Words, vol. II. By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M.A., London 1941.



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